

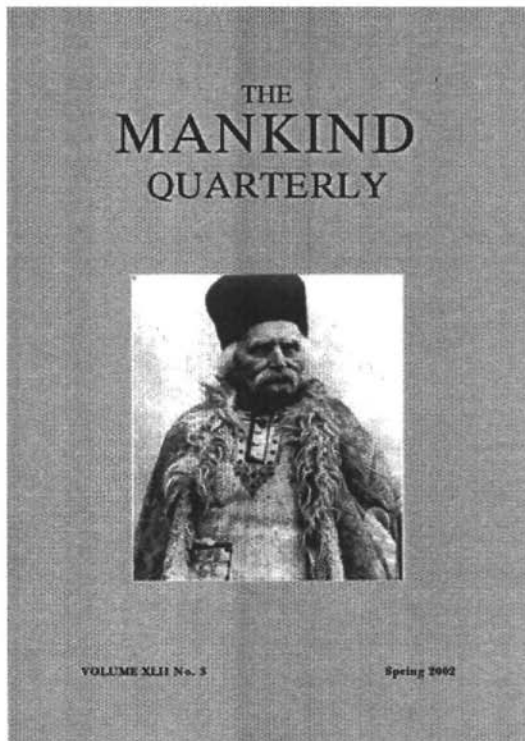
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An Archeologist Speculates on the Origin of the Finno-Ugrians

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Using a method which he describes as the diachronic geography of major archeological entities, the author examines the distribution and chronological development of Mesolithic and Early Neolithic European archeological complexes that extended over large territories and great time depth. He concludes that the evidence in many areas indicates remarkably long-term separations between cultures made possible by the low density of population. Even though their geographical boundaries often changed through time, these divisions would have facilitated the formation of distinctive proto-Indo-European and proto-Uralic ethnolinguistic groups. He sees one such division in the Dnieper basin, and further suggests that the present day border between the Latvian and Estonian languages corresponds to the boundary which separated the TRB and derivative Battle Axe/Corded Ware cultures from the Comb Ware culture, and most likely separated the evolving proto-Baltic languages from proto-Finno-Ugric.

Key Words: Körös, Starcevo, Strednyi Stog, Sabatinovka, European Linear Pottery (LBK), Pit Grave, Kurgan, Yamnaya, Catacomb, Timber Grave, Kelteminar, Corded Ware, Eastern Gravettian, Megalithic Culture, Comb Ware, Globular Amphorae, Notenkopf, Oasis and Khorezm, Bug-Dniester, Dnieper-Donets, Magdalenian and Swidry technologies, Narva, Funnel Beaker Culture (TRB), Kunda, Suomusjärvi, Komsa, Fosna, tundra oikumene, Ananjino, Stroke Ornamented Pottery, Lengyel, Nemunas, Painted-Tripolye-Cucuteni, Fatjanova, Indo-European, Uralic, Finno-Ugric, Ural-Altaic Sprachbund, Wellentheorie, protolanguage, Stammbaumtheorie, Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Copper Age, Bronze Age, Ural Mountains, Western Siberia, Central Asia, Carpathian Basin, Balkan Peninsula, East Carpathians, North European Plain, Near East.

Background of the Research

I start with the observation of Floris Rómer, the founder of Hungarian archeology. "It is a pity that researchers of the ancient settlements of Hungarians have based their views exclusively on the forever changing study of linguistic relationships and have not at all taken into account our rich

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ancient relics, which survive over the millennia and tell much more about the ancient history of the nation.² Questions dealing with history and especially prehistory cannot be approached with success by basing answers exclusively on linguistic assumptions – even less when these assumptions are themselves faulty.

The situation has deteriorated a great deal during the 120 years since Römer's death. I am myself an archeologist, who, during my 40-year-long career, has studied the Early Neolithic of the Balkans; the Carpathian Basin Neolithic culture, especially the Körös culture, the big questions of both large Linear Pottery culture groups; and the East-European steppe's early so-called Pit Grave culture (Grubengrabkultur), along with other questions they raise. I wrote my dissertation about the prehistory of the Indo-European-speaking peoples during the early 1980s.³ Because I was naturally also interested in the prehistory of my nation, I wanted to apply the information accumulated in the study of the prehistory of the Indo-Europeans to the study of the prehistory of Uralic and Finno-Ugric speaking peoples. The publications listed in the second footnote of this article seem to me to be of significance but they have been ignored by the proponents of the outdated and uninformed views of past researchers dealing with the ancient history of the Finno-Ugrians. I have been forced to come to this conclusion because I have not even found arguments that criticize my work in the published works of linguists, historical linguists, and historians. Researchers of these fields do not even consider views deviating from their views worth remarking upon. Possibly for this reason,

²A report of an expedition to northern regions (ArchÉrt 9, 1975, p. 42). The long trip took place during August and September of 1874. Römer was in Helsinki on September 10, 1874, where he became familiar with Finnish antiquities under the direction of Mr. Aspelin, who was "the most expert authority."

³The title of the dissertation is *Az indoeurópai népek őstörténete és a vonaldászes kerámia* ("Linear Pottery and the Prehistory of the Indo-Europeans"). The work has not yet been published as a whole. The manuscript consists of two volumes: volume I includes the text and volume II 1-175 maps, (Budapest 1985). Makkay 1991 is a version focusing on some questions and written in somewhat popular style. It includes also a long section dealing with the Baltic question and the earliest prehistory of the Finno-Ugric peoples (188-212). More detailed explanations of some parts of the dissertation from year 1985 are included in Makkay 1987 and Makkay 1992a. Makkay 1990 (in English) and Makkay 1992b (in Hungarian) are independent summaries of parts dealing with the Finno-Ugric peoples. Information presented here is based on these publications unless more accurate references are mentioned below.

I have been made to understand in oral discussions that I am considered an amateur in the study of Finno-Ugric origins. This may be so when we discuss the last 1,100 years (when the first written records gradually appeared). It is not so if the discussion deals with the preceding 9,000 – 13,000 years of prehistory, when groups speaking Uralic and Finno-Ugric languages were formed. The study of these must take place according to the basic principles and methods of prehistoric archeology, the writer's field of specialty. Based on my experience, I regret that I also have to say that historical linguists, historians, cultural anthropologists, and even archeologists studying the Migration period whose work deals with the Uralic/Finno-Ugric prehistory do not know the archeological research of earlier periods and its scientific principles. They refer to it in an entirely amateurish fashion. They know neither modern archeological methods nor its potentials, and if they hear something about it or write about it, they refer to research methods pre-dating the First World War. The situation is extremely difficult in understanding chronological dates and applying them in practice. They do not understand the difference between the traditional dating methods and the absolute dates provided by the radiocarbon method. Even prehistory and the earlier Stone Age (The Paleolithic) have been confused with each other, and a claim that the sea level rose 100 m in one year at the end of the Ice Age has been made.⁴ Russian archeologists and researchers of prehistory are an exception here. They are, however, highly specialized, which is understandable when the conditions of a geographically large land are taken into consideration, and, as a result, so far no satisfactory overview exists. Due to the rapid accumulation of finds, making an overview of the European side of the country has even become impossible, and professionals researching the prehistory of the Finno-Ugrians must take this into account. In any event, I ask my readers to read the following text providing an amateurish view of an archaeologist about the prehistory of far away regions.

Péter Hajdú's View of the Homeland

To illustrate the points presented so far, I borrow the views of locating the homeland proposed by an excellent researcher, Péter Hajdú. Hajdú has until recently supported the genetic

⁴Veres, 1991, p. 113 and 121.

affiliation theory (the family tree theory), or its so-called modernized version, as the best explanation of modern Uralic languages' diachronic and genetic (prehistoric) relationships.⁵ Between the years 1987 and 1994, he changed his opinion markedly, and although he still in many respects leaned on his earlier claims⁶, he gave in other respects more room to views (i.e. the Sprachbund-theory and language league-theory) according to which important aspects in the formation of a protolanguage are ancient processes and language contacts leading to language integrations.⁷ In 1977, Hajdú's view of the earliest formation processes of the Uralic languages was the following:⁸

Similarities of Uralic and other Eurasian languages cannot be considered as indicators of relationship, but we can seek for their explanations from the transition of the Paleolithic and the Mesolithic periods, when different genetically distinct language groups started to cluster, and languages which were in contact with each other started to develop gradually into language families as a result of long term and **random** [writer's emphasis] processes. A complex net of geographic contacts between Paleolithic languages, as well as convergence and divergence developments gave, therefore, rise to mutually related language families ... and traits in which they exhibit similarities. All of this indicates that the original geographic areas of Eurasian languages – or at least that of their early stages – must be located geographically close to each other.⁹

In this article, I will now focus more closely on locating the Uralic homeland and leave Hajdú's description of the Mesolithic developments, which he considers above all as different integration processes (I will return to these processes further ahead), without further reference. As I see it, we cannot solve the question of locating the Uralic homeland, or even approach it, without taking into consideration the examination

⁵Hajdú, Péter, Az uráli nyelvek osztályozása. (*A magyar föld és nép korai történetének enciklopédiája. Próbafüzet.* A manuscript. Budapest, 1987) pp. 31-33.

⁶Hajdú, 1977, pp. 157-165.

⁷Másodlagos egyezések (*Magyar Nyelv* 91: 2, 1995) pp. 129-140.

⁸According to this both the Indo-European and the Uralic proto-languages would have developed by chance into what they are. In this case, would the modern Hungarian and Finnish languages be results of random processes as well as the development of the world history?

⁹Hajdú, 1977, p. 164.

of parallel questions of Indo-European linguistic prehistory.

Péter Hajdú has located the Uralic homeland in different geographic regions during his life work. He has based his views entirely on linguistic paleontology, especially on plant (botanic) geography and language geography. In 1962, he located the oldest detectable area in which the Uralic proto-language was spoken as a region located between the Volga-, Kama-, Rivers and the Ural Mountains.¹⁰ In 1963, however, he wrote: "The Uralic homeland was located at the beginning of the Holocene period north of the central Ural Mountains, between the lower Ob River and the upper Pechora River, mostly in western Siberia".¹¹ According to these thoughts, Hajdú was no longer a supporter of that Köppenian and questionable argument, which was based on the distributions of the words *mesi* (Hungarian *méz*) and *meh* (Eng. bee).¹² (According to this argument, bees would have lived only west of the Ural Mountains during ancient times; as if the cherry flower was not known in Japan before the 1900s.) However, even a more difficult problem than this is that the area mentioned, or the area between the middle course of the Ob River, the Irtysh, Tobol, and Isimi rivers, was after the Ice Age an enormous inland sea. This area is known as the West Siberian Depression. The area that was covered by this huge inland sea has been until recent times unsuitable for settlement, and even today it is an enormous swamp area. The inland sea, as well as the huge swampy area, which formed in its place later, were absolutely impossible candidates for the homeland of the Uralic protolanguage.¹³

Hajdú's next claim was made in 1975 and it is as follows: In the beginning and the middle of the Holocene (6th – 4th millennium BC), the Uralic homeland can be sought north of the central Urals,¹⁴ along the lower and middle courses of the Ob River and in the northern regions of the Ural Mountains

¹⁰*Finn-ugor népek és nyelvek* (Budapest, 1962) pp. 29,39.

¹¹Hol volt az urali őshaza? (*Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv életrajza köréből*, ed. Ligeti Lajos and Pais Dezső. *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 40, Budapest, 1963) p. 130.

¹²Veres, 1991, pp. 111-112; Id., Die frühe Phase der Ethnogenese der Finno-Ugrier und Sibirien. (*Specimina Sibirica* 1, Pécs 1988) pp. 221-234, an accurate explanation of Köppen's bee theory.

¹³Makkay, 1990, pp. 71-72; Nuñez, 1987, Figure 1.

¹⁴General maps clearly show that the Ural Mountains are set directly in south-to-north orientation. As a result, it is the northern Urals and eventually the Arctic Sea, not the lower and middle courses of the Ob river, that are north of the central Urals. It is an unsuitable area for a homeland.

including the lower reaches of the Pechora River, however, more in the Siberian side of this region. Finally, in 1987, the Uralic homeland ended once again into Europe, as Hajdú writes:¹⁵ *“die bisher vorgebrachten pflanzen- und tiergeographischen Argumente weisen in die Richtung, daß die finnougriische bzw. uralische Urheimat in Nordosteuropa, nicht zu weit vom Ural entfernt, in den Gebieten zwischen dem Mittellauf der Wolga und dem Ural gelegen haben kann.”*¹⁶

A Geographically Small Homeland

Aside from other problems, the main feature of these and similar claims is that they assume a linguistic homeland within on a small geographic area. During the first decades of research in the last century, this was an entirely common view. Even in the study of the Indo-European languages, there was one such school of thought, which at the moment is again gaining more popularity. C. Renfrew simply locates the homeland of the proto-Indo-European language in the Near East in the surroundings of Catal Hüyük, the famous Neolithic site. Marija Gimbutas, who was brave in her conclusions but knew the archaeological record of early periods very superficially, has located this homeland in the eastern half of the Kurgan culture. T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov, for their part, have located it in the region between the Caucasus and Northern Mesopotamia. J.P. Mallory, as if a compromise, considers the steppe region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea as a probable Indo-European homeland.¹⁷

The above-mentioned view of confined homelands has been extremely central also among researchers of the Uralic- and Finno-Ugric peoples, and it has survived until now. I only mention two examples. M.A. Castrén wrote the following about the common Altaic homeland of the Ural-Altaic-speaking peoples:

Ich bin gewohnt die ... finnischen, samojedischen, türkischen, mongolischen und tungusischen Sprachen unter einer einzigen gemeinsamen Benennung zusammenzufassen und

¹⁵Hajdú, Péter, A rokonság nyelvi hattere. (*Uráli népek*, ed. Hajjú, Péter. Budapest, 1975) p. 35.

¹⁶P. Hajdú and P. Domokos, *Die uralischen Sprachen und Literaturen*. Teil I. (Budapest, 1987) pp. 282-283.

¹⁷Makkay, 1991, p. 146.

habe sie vorläufig altaische Sprachen genannt, da die Volger selbst seit undenklichen Zeiten in der Gegend des Altai-Gebirges sesshaft gewesen sind ...¹⁸

Castrén was led in this question by the kind of language-historical views which are still taken seriously today.¹⁹ There is also an entirely different and very simple explanation that has commonly been provided for the assumption of a geographically small homeland. This explanation (not provided in the text) was used, for example, when V.N. Csernyecov claimed in the early 1960s that the Uralic people descend from the Mesolithic or later flourishing Neolithic agricultural cultures of southern Central Asia.²⁰

A noticeable characteristic of these theories of confined homeland areas among the researchers of the Uralic and Indo-European languages is that these theories are commonly born 10-20 years after some remarkable, but seldom really new, archeological discovery. A new archeological discovery takes place commonly so that there are for some reason intensive excavations taking place in a relatively large region of some country, and researchers establish a chronology and catalog especially funerary remains but also recovered material from the settlement sites. An enormous amount of previously unknown archeological material surfaces, which spurs to create new theories. After some years, based on such new discoveries and knowledge, first archeologists, and then historical linguists founding their theories on those of the archeologists, enthusiastically present a certain area, which then becomes the new Indo-European or Uralic homeland.²¹

This happened the first time in the middle of the last

¹⁸M. A. Castrén's *Kleinere Schriften*. (Szentpétervár, 1862) pp. 151-152; Joki, 1973, pp. 18-19; a citation from a work Zsirai Miklós, *Finnugor rokonságunk*. (Budapest, 1937) beginning from p. 514.

¹⁹R. A. Miller, Genetic connections among the Altaic languages. (In *Sprung from some common source*, ed. by S. M. Lamb and E. D. Mitchell. Stanford, 1991) pp. 293-327.

²⁰V. M. Tsernetsov, *Drevneisii Period Istorii Narodov Ural'skoi Obsnost'i*. (Moszkva, 1963) passim, and K. Voprosy O Mest'e I Vremennii Formirovaniio Ural'skoi ... Obsnost'i. (CIF I, Budapest, 1963) pp. 405-411.

²¹We may think of G. Kossina's direction showing research in which he had difficulties to balance between southern Scandinavia and central Germany when defining the Indo-European homeland: Die indogermanische Frage archäologisch beantwortet. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 34, 1902) pp. 161-222 (Reprinted in *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*, hrsg. Von A. Scherer. Darmstadt, 1968) pp. 25-109.

century in the case of the Swiss lake dwellings, Megalithic graves and later Bronze Age cultures of southern Scandinavia, and the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Corded Ware culture of Central Germany. Each of these cultures and regions was presented in turn as the ancestral culture and the homeland of the Indo-European peoples. In this century, these were followed by two other regions. The Kurgan region of the South Russian steppe is quite well (but not completely enough) known by Russian and Ukrainian researchers. The homeland of the proto-Indo-Europeans became the favorite research topic of M. Gimbutas on the basis of thousands of so-called Kurgan graves (Copper Age Yamnaya, Bronze Age catacomb and timber graves, and Scythian graves). The other area is Anatolia. J. Mellaart's significant discoveries in Hacilar and Catal Hüyük, as well as results of the Halaf culture studies have given the only bases for Renfrew's or Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's previously mentioned location of the Indo-European homeland. For the study of Finno-Ugric prehistory, this kind of idea of a geographically confined homeland area – the Kama River region – has been facilitated by the studies of the Ananjino Bronze and Iron Age graves at the end of the last century.²² Without doubt, Csernyecov's theory was founded on Sz.P. Tol'tov's thoughts, which leaned on excavations in Khorezm in Central Asia, especially on the so-called Kelteminar lithic technology and contemporary pottery, during World War II and afterwards.

Models of geographically confined homelands are, thus, based on exhaustive archeological excavations of certain locations, which result in discoveries of extensive cemeteries and contemporary settlements.

Maybe Not such a Small Homeland After All

Between the suggested small homeland areas of the protolanguages proposed in the last century, there were far larger territories than the homelands. Mostly stray finds (for example, thousands of stone and bronze axes) have been found regardless of a nearly total lack of extensive excavations from the territories between the small homelands. Shall we imagine that at the end of the last century an enormous area, 3,000 kilometer long, was archeologically entirely unknown or nearly unknown, and that this area separated the Ananjino culture of

²²Fodor, 1973, pp. 47-55.

the Kama region (the Uralic homeland in many theories) from the Corded Ware groups of Silesia and Czech region (which many consider as the oldest region where the Indo-European protolanguage was spoken)? However, it was not even questioned how language contacts could have been possible between two small culture areas – in this case between the Indo-European and the Finno-Ugrian confined homelands – located so far apart.

There are numerous other arguments against the idea of small Indo-European and Uralic homelands. Gyula László has expressed this the most accurately. He wrote that if we assume that the “proto-people” had really lived in three centers, who in this case lived in other regions from which there are finds providing proof of continuous settlement? If linguists’ assumptions (about small homelands) were right, then we should presuppose the existence of widely separated and internally homogenous cultures with dense populations, and that there were extensive uninhabited regions between these cultures.²³ We are then correct in asking the linguists how Uralians and Indo-Europeans, starting from their small homelands quite recently – possibly about 3,000 BC – could have suddenly spread over such an enormous area²⁴ and assimilated more sizeable populations, who spoke different proto-languages, and who lived in geographically much larger areas than those from which the Indo-Europeans and Finno-Ugrians come. Historical examples indicate, as we know from the Indo-European dialects that have spread to regions where other languages were spoken (for example, Greek and the Anatolian Hittite proto-languages), that these kinds of assimilation processes are very slow and the variety of different surviving substrates is large. If this kind of rapid assimilation happened when dialects of a proto-language spread from their small homeland, then where are the substrate features – expected to be found especially in the peripheral regions – providing proof of this kind of expansion? It is necessary to point out to those researchers who maintain the view of small

²³László Gyula, *őstörténetünk*. (Budapest, 1981, 3rd ed.), pp. 37-38.

²⁴The respective areas where Indo-European- and Uralic dialects were spoken were enormous in size already at the beginning of the third millennium BC based on prehistoric and historic facts.

homelands located far from the whole historical distribution area of the Uralic languages, that a great part of the historical distribution of the Finno-Ugric-speaking people lies in an area which was covered by ice cap until the end of the Ice Age. Therefore, a real and original homeland could not have existed in this area.²⁵

Archeology has developed a great deal and the site number has increased in all regions (including the region between the Kama River and Central Germany). We can mention two factors for this. One is that there are no longer white spots in an archeological sense within Europe, except in the most peripheral regions, the most northern areas, and high mountain territories. The regions between the centers are no longer empty, but they are full of sites: burial grounds, settlement sites, and hoards. If someone still maintains that the homeland of the Uralic languages should be the Kama-Belaja region or between the Pechora and Ob Rivers, he must assume that there were other proto-languages or even hundreds or thousands of other language groups in the zone between the Uralic and Indo-European homelands (for example, between the Kama and Oder Rivers). It would not be an easy task. An assumption of contemporary language groups living in geographically small regions does not help much. In this case, we come against many questions of principles. Why would a tribal group speaking the Proto-Uralic language emerge in a small area as a result of integration of previously isolated language groups representing different ethnicities when in its neighborhood lived other groups that were also more or less independent from each other, and interpreted themselves into another language group, in this case the Indo-European language family? Nor can one know why these language groups would start suddenly to group themselves into a language family especially in the Kama River region and on the South Russian steppe or central Germany but not elsewhere. In addition, all of this would have occurred during the Mesolithic, which we know was not a period of cultural integration but period of isolation and divergence into technocomplexes and ethnic groups.

Assumptions of Population Sizes

The settlement density of the entire North European Plain

²⁵ Makkay, 1992b, pp. 16-17.

(Britain, Northern France, Holland, Germany, Poland) in about 8,000-4,000 BC, or during the Late Mesolithic, was defined by a 1981 study.²⁶ The starting point of this study was that an average 500 individuals can make their living and maintain the society through biological reproduction in hunting-, fishing-, and gathering societies. This means 20 separate extended families of about 25 individuals each. If in one possible model we assume the average population density to be 0.03 individuals per square kilometer (estimates about the population density vary in range of 0.001-0.5) then there could have been 54 societies of 500 individuals each living in the entire North European Plain. If we consider the size of the society to be 300, there could have been 90 such Mesolithic ethnic groups.

Other researchers, for example Meiklejohn, Williams, and Wobst also analysed Paleolithic and Mesolithic period population densities and numbers of separate groups, and their estimates do not differ noticeably from the one mentioned above. According to Meiklejohn, a self-maintaining larger group (major breeding group or macro-unit) may have been composed of 475-1000 individuals, and it could have lived in an area of 24,000-125,000 square kilometers, depending on the population density. There could have been 8-12 such larger groups (at most a total of 12,000 individuals) in the inhabited regions of western Europe north of the Mediterranean coast during the late Paleolithic. According to Williams, few bands could have formed connubiums during the first half of the Mesolithic. These connubiums were endogamous units which formed culturally and linguistically unified groups (independent language groups assumed by Hajdú?). Their population size was probably between 210 individuals (7 extended families) and 1,275 individuals (17 extended families), and their territory was between 546-1,326 square kilometers. According to Wobst, a maximum band composed of extended families (minimum bands) may have consisted of 175-475 individuals (7-19 extended families), and may have inhabited an area of between 9,500-95,000 square kilometers depending on

²⁶T. Douglas Price, Regional approaches to human adaptation in the Mesolithic of the Northern European Plain. (*In Mesolithikum in Europa. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam* 14-15. Berlin, 1981) pp. 226-230.

the population density (0.5-0.005 individuals/sq.km.).²⁷

If we approach the matter in Peter Hajdú's way, then there would have been 10, 54, 90, or even 700 isolated tribal societies living in the about one million square kilometer area of the East European forest zone, or in the later Finno-Ugric territory, and the same number of language units of different genetic origins.

How About the Languages?

Based on information available today, or more correctly the surmises, we cannot make any kind of conclusions of the language situation of the late Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods. In addition, we cannot even know how isolated the assumed groups were from each other, since there were probably exogamous marriage contacts between them. According to one view, endogamy has a role in the development of numerous small ethnic groups.²⁸ There is again another problem that the study of contacts between the ethnic groups – tribes, ethnicities, and extended families – of the North European Plain could be much more complicated than the examples mentioned above.

In my opinion, the main problem with the assumed language integration and group formations of the languages of the Mesolithic societies (i.e. the Sprachbund-theory) – regardless of their numbers and population densities – assumed (language and other) integrations and group-formations is that the assumed integrations would have started just when all signs of material and spiritual culture (the entire archeological evidence) prove just the opposite trend of development, group separations and differentiations. When the proposed convergences would have ended at the end of the Mesolithic period, the proto-language (whose existence is not denied even by supporters of the Sprachbund-theory) that was formed as a result of integrations, internal diversities, and cultural divergences would have started to break-down and separations into dialects would have started immediately. Nobody yet has been able to give an explanation for this unexpected turn of events in which (the direction of) developments would have suddenly made a complete reverse. Language historians have

²⁷T. S. Constandse-Westermann and R. R. Newell, Social and biological aspects of the Western European Mesolithic population structure... (In *The mesolithic in Europe*, ed. by Clive Bonsall. Edinburgh 1986) pp. 106-108, with additional references.

²⁸Ibid. 112.

not even noticed this fact, because its symptoms hide in the middle of complete archeological research. There are, thus, bases to make a conclusion that neither the Indo-European nor Uralic protolanguage could have developed as a result of aerial language contacts, as a result of Sprachbund-type integration. Processes of differentiation of the parent language into dialects, which had started earlier, continued at the beginning of the Neolithic.²⁹

Due to these as well as other difficulties, it is my opinion that a closer study of linguistic development dating before the latest Paleolithic is impossible today. During a period which can still be somewhat traced by archeological and historical-linguistic means (the period contemporary to the Eastern Gravettian cultures of the late Upper Paleolithic), both the Uralic and the Indo-European proto-languages already existed. Therefore, they were not developing through integration of small language groups. A further development of these – mainly through dialect differentiation – can be best understood and described according to the traditional family tree model. In some respect, it would be useful to create such a three-dimensional family tree model, which P. Aalto has presented already in 1965.³⁰ It would combine the best of both the family tree model (Stammbaumtheorie) and the wave model (Wellentheorie). In it the length of the already separated branches set according to the geographic locations of dialects is relative to the length of time since branching occurred. Isoglosses set between the branches according to the linguistic variables would show the linguistic stage of different dialects during certain developmental stages, as well as (the historic) geographic locations of these dialects at the given periods. The matter is, however, so complicated that it is actually impossible to present it in one graphic presentation. Instead, it would be possible to represent according to the most important isoglosses and with the help of the family tree model the developmental stages during a certain short segment of time of internal and maybe also external contacts of some dialect group (or family tree branches located near each other).

²⁹R. R. Newell et al. (eds.), *An inquiry into the ethnic resolution of Mesolithic regional groups*. (Leiden, 1990).

³⁰P. Aalto, The original home of the Indo-European. (*Sitzungsberichte der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1963 [1965]) pp. 97-113, and figure.

Cultural Boundaries and Language Boundaries

My method agrees perfectly with a view that association between areas of ancient protolanguages and their archeological cultures is difficult or still practically impossible when we deal with very early periods (for example, the early and the middle Mesolithic). However, I think that it is still more difficult, more uncertain, and unfounded if we do not draw linguistic boundaries between large linguistic areas that have definitely existed according to provinces of well defined archeological cultures, but in some other way, for example, somewhere inside these archeological provinces. In this other way, geographically and temporarily homogenous archeological complexes would be divided in an entirely arbitrary fashion into two or three language areas and it is only assumed that these areas were linguistically and ethnically entirely different. In these kinds of cases, we cannot help but to come to an absurd claim that, at the beginning of time, there was only one language family in Eurasia (there were no cultural and language boundaries on a geographic map). Or that we could never be able to point out old, for example Mesolithic, cultural and linguistic boundaries in the entire Eurasia.

Therefore, with my method, I examine distributions and chronological developments of archeological complexes (which include cultural groups traditionally considered different) that extend over large territories and go back in great time depth. This method can be called *the diachronic geography of great archeological entities*. The special attention is given to stable and long-term boundaries of these large areas. These archeological boundaries are to be associated with assumed territories of protolanguages, i.e. the historic distributions of their speech communities and dialectal areas. The method is, therefore, simple: a diachronic examination of the long-term development of contemporary archeological areas. This method is easy to define, and it separates spiritual and material culture within large areas on the basis of archeologically detectable ethnic traits (separates large territories of distinct spiritual and material culture).

The Uralic Proto-Language Area

The culturally closed large territories maintained their uniformity for long periods, in some cases even thousands of

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years, although their external boundaries changed over time and groups were formed within them. Their spiritual and material culture developed constantly over millennia, but changes were regular (like sound laws), occurring synchronically or with shorter or longer delays. The changes were synchronic within closed cultural areas within larger boundaries. At the same time there were extensive areas, which lagged behind general cultural development according to how far they were located from the Near Eastern cultural centers or their peripheral regions.³¹ It is clear that one such area that lagged behind was the Uralic or Finno-Ugric language area in the far north. Synchronically occurring changes (i.e. new inventions of agriculture, ceramic manufacture, the use of metals, the plough and ploughing) arrived in this region eventually, but substantially later. The reason for lagging behind is obvious: these technological inventions and innovations spread due to the nature of the item (such as agriculture) from south to north, not the other way around. There were also certain advantages to staying behind the development. There were several thousands of years of peaceful life without wars. The destruction of the environment (deforestation through extensive forest clearance and the resulting pollution) did not reach a large scale.

Shortly summarizing, these large areas are determined by numerous, contemporary typological characteristics, so-called isotypes (as for example isoceramics), and find types paralleling them. These characteristics changed over time in a regular way and parallel fashion, whereas their distribution areas remained the same for a long time or changed only little.

Because in my view, the still undifferentiated Uralic and Indo-European protolanguages could have been in existence only just before the beginning of the Neolithic (i.e. in the incipient Neolithic in terms of the Anatolian and Balkan chronology). My archeological model does not deal with the conditions of the period when these protolanguages first emerged. The object of my research is only the first stage of the long period between the early dialect divergences from the parent speech community (for example, of the Indo-Iranian and

³¹See A. Sherratt about the periphery concept, What would a Bronze-Age world system look like? (*Journal of European Archaeology* 1:2, 1993), p. 4.

Anatolian-Hittite dialect continuums) and the first historical appearance of the dialects (the first Hittite language forms at the beginning of the second millennium BC). Due to already mentioned conditions (and also as a consequence of other factors: the Uralians and Finno-Ugrians started to leave behind written records several millennia later than the southern Europeans), the first historical sources of the Uralic and Indo-European language forms do not coincide chronologically. A good example of how much geographical location influences the time of the first historical sources is the late appearance of records of the Baltic languages (as for example the Elbing-dictionary around AD 1400). Against this, there are no reasons to think that the beginning of the differentiation of these two parent languages would date to entirely different periods.

The Indo-European Proto-Language

The Neolithic of Europe, selected for our examination, corresponds mostly with the stage when the Indo-European speech community had already diverged into dialects or dialect group continuums. This corresponds with small changes³² with the time period between A.W. Dressler's "n" and "m" stages³³, F. Adrados's stage II³⁴, or the "C-phase" in the system of W. Meid (Spätindoeuropäisch)³⁵. The mentioned chronological problems primarily relate to the dating, because as a result of the greater time depth³⁶ these stages do not date to the third millennium BC, but to the already mentioned Neolithic phases in Anatolia and southeastern Europe (which according to the traditional view date to the fifth and fourth millennia BC, and according to the radiocarbon chronology between the eighth and fifth

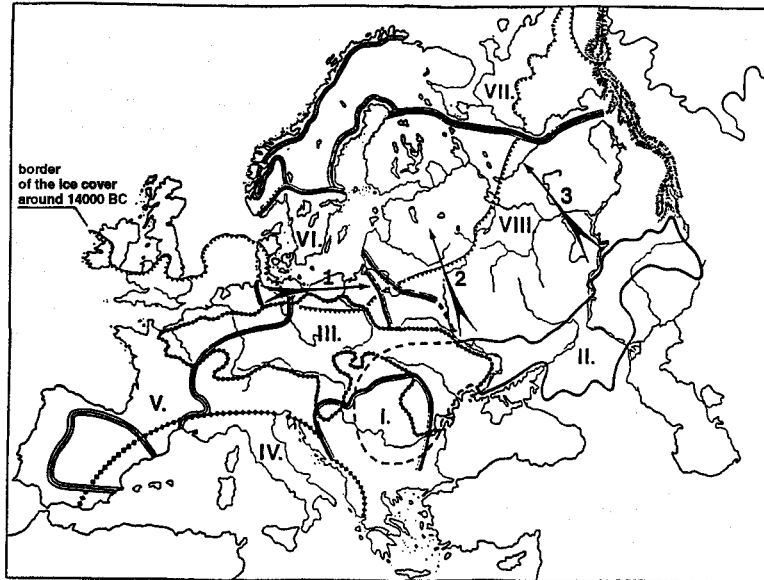
³²Makkay, 1992a, pp. 198-199.

³³W. Dressler, *Methodische Vorfragen bei der Bestimmung der "Urheimat."* (*Die Sprache* 11, 1965) p. 27.

³⁴F. R. Adrados, *Die räumliche und zeitliche Differenzierung des Indoeuropäischen im Lichte der Vor- und Frühgeschichte.* (Innbruck, 1982) p. 25.

³⁵W. Meid, *Probleme der räumlichen und zeitlichen Gliederung des Indogermanischen.* (In *Flexion und Wortbildung, Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, hrsg. von H. Rix. Wiesbaden, 1975) pp. 207-213; E. C. Polomé, *Creolization theory and linguistic prehistory.* (*Festschrift O. Szemerényi*, Bd. II, Teil II. Amsterdam, 1979) pp. 687-688.

³⁶Many prehistoric events are being dated earlier. This is partly due to calibrated radiocarbon dates providing more accurate dates, in part because the archeological research has demonstrated many stages within the Neolithic to be earlier. The Halaf type was considered as the earliest Neolithic pottery in 1933!



Map 1. Culture areas of Europe during the earliest Neolithic period: I) Aegean – East Balkan – Carpathian; II) Steppe – later the Yamnaya area; III) Danubian – Linear Pottery; IV) Mediterranean heartland; V) Megalithic cultures of the Atlantic Coasts; VI) North Europe – South Scandinavian; VII) Tundra; VIII) Finno-Ugric forest area.

millenia BC). It must be noted that at the same time Mesolithic period persisted – according to the earlier discussed synchronic principle of relationships between large areas – in the assumed areas of Proto-Uralic language distribution. According to archeological discoveries, large groups and dialect continuums corresponding to them spread over large areas and took in their use habitable areas in the taiga zone and the southern steppe. The most recent studies have indicated that between the I and III large European culture areas (see Map 1), there was already during the period of the Körös culture in the Tisza River valley in the Jászsóg, central Hungary, a clear cultural and ethno-linguistic boundary. I associate this border zone between the Körös and Linear Pottery cultures with the boundary between the northwestern dialect group of the Proto-Indo-European language (*le vocabulaire du nordouest*) and the still unclassified early Proto-Indo-European languages of the Balkans.³⁸

How Large was the Distribution Area of the Uralic Languages?

There was already a continuum of so-called Uralic dialects spread over broad territory during the early Subneolithic period immediately preceding the Neolithic period. Some of the Finnish and Estonian researchers have been thinking so for decades, contrary to especially Hungarian researchers who have stuck with the theory of a small-sized homeland located far away. K.B. Wiklund wrote already in 1906: “The oldest settlements of the Finno-Ugric people known today reached from the Gulf of Finland to the Caspian Sea. Therefore, they were both in the west and in the south immediate neighbors of the Indo-Europeans. From where the Finno-Ugrians originated in these areas is entirely unknown.”³⁹ (How right he was!) Following him, or regardless of him, Finnish, Estonian, and sometimes Swedish researchers have presented the view since the beginning of this century that the Uralians living near the Baltic Sea (meaning the ancestors of the Baltic-Finns and the Saami) have inhabited their recent territories since the Neolithic, and the appearance

³⁷Many prehistoric events are being dated earlier. This is partly due to calibrated radiocarbon dates providing more accurate dates, in part because the archeological research has demonstrated many stages within the Neolithic to be earlier. The Halaf type was considered as the earliest Neolithic pottery in 1933!

³⁸See Makkay, 1996, pp. 41-42 for more details.

³⁹Finnisch-ugrisch und Indogermanisch. (*Le monde orientale* 1, Uppsala, 1906) pp. 43-65, Citation Joki, 1973 pp. 124-125.

of the Comb Ware pottery, and that they have appeared in these regions together with the spread of the Comb Ware pottery. People speaking dialects of the Finno-Ugric protolanguage lived in the region between the Baltic Sea and the Ural Mountains already during the Neolithic period.⁴⁰ This view is in severe contrast to the view locating the Finno-Ugric homeland between the Kama River and the Ural Mountains or with any other idea of a confined homeland territory.⁴¹ According to C.F. Meinander – and following I. Dyan's law – the modern distribution area of the Finno-Ugric dialects should coincide mostly with the same areas in which dialects that had diverged only little from the protolanguage were spoken.

J. Koivulehto, with whose views of prehistory in publications on the presence of Proto-Germanic and Proto-Baltic loan words in the vocabulary of the western Finno-Ugric languages I agree entirely, has formulated this issue very clearly: "There does not exist any obstacles for dating the existence of the Finno-Ugrians in Finland much earlier ... That view of the Estonian and Finnish archeologists according to which Uralians lived in the East Baltic region and Finland already during the Comb Ware period before the Bronze Age fits extremely well with the study of (Proto-Germanic) loan words."⁴²

I agree with this theory and associate the dialect continuum of early Finno-Ugrians extending from Finland to the Ural Mountains with the VIII European Neolithic zone in the system of large cultural complexes (see Map 1). My model discussing the system of large Neolithic cultural groups is, however, open and flexible.⁴³ As a result, conclusions based on it can also be applied to the events of the Mesolithic.⁴⁴

⁴⁰J. Ailio, Die Dauer der Steinzeitkultur im Norden. *Opuscula archaeologica Oscar Montelio septuagenario dedicata*. (Stockholm, 1913) pp. 15-29; C. F. Meinander, Die Ethnogenese der Finno-Ugrier aus der Sicht der Vor- und Frühgeschichte. (*Ethnogenese europäischer Völker*, hrsg. von W. Bernhard und A. Kandler-Palsson. Stuttgart, 1986) p. 367, referring to the research of P. Ariste, H. Moora, L. Jaanitz, and others.

⁴¹Millicentenary Catalogue of the National Museum of Hungary (*The Ancient Hungarians* ed. by István Fodor. Budapest, 1996, an English language edition), a map inside the cover page locates the Hungarians' homeland in the southern parts of the West Siberian swamp region.

⁴²J. Koivulehto, Seit wann leben die Urfinnen im Ostseeraum? (*MSFOu* 185, 1983) pp. 135-137.

⁴³Makkay, 1992a, Map 1, p. 195.

⁴⁴Makkay, 1992a, p. 189.

This VIII zone was a neighbor of four other zones in the system of large European culture areas, and its eastern boundary was the Ural Mountains. In the north was the tundra zone (VII), which was possibly inhabited by related Finno-Ugric people. This question depends on whether the Saami are considered to be originally Uralian/Finno-Ugric people or not. In the steppe zone (II) to the south and southeast, neighbors were at least since the Mesolithic period people speaking Indo-Iranian languages. In the west, in the North European Plain between the Rhine and Weser Rivers and in southern Scandinavia, was the territory inhabited by the late Megalithic people (Zone V). Finally, in a very narrow area southeast of the Vistula in the region between the Bug- and Pripjet rivers was as a neighbor an eastern group of the zone III, the Linear Pottery area, which was characterized by the typically central European linear wares (the LBK). These boundaries were stable for millennia. If they changed, it was when a major ethno-linguistic change also occurred. Such a change took place when the later cultures of the III zone, the genetic descendants of the TRB culture, i.e. the culture of the Globular Amphorae and the Corded Ware group moved toward east, crossed the Vistula River, and arrived also in the East Baltic region and southern Finland.

It is an important factor that inhabitants of the VIII zone, the ancient Finno-Ugrian zone, were never in direct contact with the northern borders of zone I. Zone I was a leading cultural center and consisted of the Balkan Peninsula, the East Carpathians, and the Carpathian Basin. Archeologically this area is known as the Körös-Starcevo culture. The closest to the VIII zone by the northwestern distribution territory of the Körös-Starcevo culture in northern Moldavia between the Prut and Dniester rivers, i.e. Sakarovka in the Moldovian Republik.⁴⁵

The Dnieper Boundary

The Dnieper boundary between the culture areas III and II had a very important role in the mutual relationships of these areas. Area III was the distribution territory of the Notenkopf-phase of the Central European Linear Pottery, and in the Late

⁴⁵V. Dergachev and O. Larina, Recent results of Neolithic research in Moldavia. (*OJA* 10, 1991) pp. 1-16. The find material is clearly related to the early Alföld Linear Ware of the northeastern part of the Carpathian Basin (East Hungarian Plain) called also the Szatunér phase, as I had a chance to study in August of 1995 due to help of O. Larina.

Neolithic the area of its eastern descendants, the Painted Potteries of the Tripolye-Cucuteni-Erösd cultures. I associate this whole region with the northwestern group of the Indo-European dialect continuum (*le vocabulaire du nordouest* after Meillet), and the eastern part of this huge territory east of the Bug (or Vistula?) River with eastern, still not diverged dialects (Proto-Slavic) of the dialect continuum.⁴⁶ Area II, between the Dnieper- and Volga rivers, had the Yamnaya culture – the Pit-Grave culture that arose from the intergation of Mesolithic elements where the Indo-Iranian protolanguage, that was either already diverged or in the process of diverging, was spoken.⁴⁷

As I have written on several occasions, this clear cultural and most probably also linguistic boundary in the Dnieper Valley did not separate two small cultural areas, but it divided three large cultural and language areas that had prevailed thousands of years ago. This boundary was especially clear already during the second stage of the Upper Paleolithic, during the time of the Eastern Gravettian technoculture. From this period there are typical finds from the Dnieper Valley and east of it, but the area located west of the river was empty.⁴⁸ We can follow the Dnieper boundary very well during the Mesolithic period, when the geometric lithic technology is encountered only from territories east of the river (Ierobereshnii) and not at all from territories lying west of the river valley.⁴⁹ The boundary was very clear between the Tripolye-Cucutenin's painted pottery (the successor of the Central European LBK) of the right bank and between the Stredni-Stog-Yamna culture territory east of the river valley.⁵⁰

⁴⁶The most recent discussion of the question is M. E. Huld, Meillet's Northwest Indo-European revisited. (Jones-Bley and Huld, 1996) pp. 109-125. Huld expanded Meillet's original idea about members of the group (Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic protolanguage) by including also Albanian. Archeologically there is only one sign that points to the northwestern Indo-European dialect continuum: the Corded Ware. In my view, based on projection of my model back in time, the northwestern dialect continuum can be associated through the genetic successors of the Linear Pottery (the TRB and Globular Amphorae cultures) on the largest part of the Linear Pottery.

⁴⁷Makkay, 1992a, pp. 213-219; Makkay, 1991, pp. 166-170, 176-183.

⁴⁸N. P. Olenkovskii, *Posdnepaleolitičeskie pomiotniki Nishnevo Dnepra*. (*Kratkie Soobščeniia* 206, 1992) pp. 64-68, and a map in the first figure.

⁴⁹L. L. Zaliznák and I. M. Gavrilenko, *Zimovniki Mesolithic culture of left-bank Ukraine*. (*Arheologija Kiev* 1996:1), pp. 3-15; L. L. Zaliznyak, *The Late Mesolithic period of Ukraine*. (*Arheologija Kiev* 1995:4), pp. 3-16.

⁵⁰In addition to earlier references, see also N. J. Mervert, *Die neolithisch-äneolithischen Denkmäler der pontisch-kaspischen Steppen und der Formierungsprozess der frühen Grubengrabkultur*. (In *Die Kupferzeit als historische*

The Dnieper boundary persisted during the later periods also. As a result, the successors of the Yamna culture, who buried their dead in timber graves (Srubnaya culture), lived in the east, whereas in the west was the Sabatinovka culture. The Dnieper River is the original boundary between the original Slavic- and Iranian place names.⁵¹

It is, therefore, more than likely that the Dnieper was the western boundary of the Indo-Iranian dialect groups even *before* the emergence of the Pit-Grave culture (during the Mesolithic period, thus contemporary with the Moldovian Körös-Starcevo culture). This claim is also supported by significant evidence according to which the western boundary of the first palatalization (satemization), typical to the Indo-Iranian dialect continuum, was the Dnieper River. This sound change itself had taken place in the middle of the third millennium BC at the latest, or during the period of the Strednyi-Stog II period or even earlier. The Dnieper River was also the boundary of the specific agrarian terminology of the Indo-Iranian dialect continuum against the western (*le vocabulaire du nordouest*) territory.⁵²

Factors behind the development of the Dnieper boundary are unknown. They may have been rather of ancient geographical in nature than archeological. Its significance to the prehistoric development of the post-ice age Europe is, however, decisive and clear.

The Neolithization started from different influences in the regions east and west of the Dnieper River, although the area of origin of the Neolithic influences was the same – the Near Eastern, Kurdistan, Anatolian, and Central Asia – the beginning of the Neolithic. From the peripheries of this region (the Balkans and the Central Asia) part of the innovations spread to the steppe region between the Carpathians, the Volga River, and

Epöche, hrsg. von J. Lichardus. Bonn, 1991), p. 38; D. W. Anthony, *The archaeology of the Indo-European origins*. (JIES 19:3-4, 1991), p. 215.

⁵¹Information given in Makkay, 1992a, p. 213.

⁵²J. Makkay, Cultural groups of SE Europe in the Neolithic: the PIE homeland problem and the origins of the Protogreeks. (*AION, Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico* 10, Napoli, 1988) pp. 121-124; J. Makkay, Horses, nomads, and invasions from the steppe from an Indo-European perspective. (In *The Archaeology of the steppes, methods, and strategies*, ed. by B. Genito. Napoli, 1994) pp. 154-161; also according to L. L. Zaliznák (1995, pp. 3-16), Stredni Stog II and Novodanilovka have developed locally from late Mesolithic groups.

the Caspian Sea from *two directions*. The neolithization of the territory west of the Dnieper was started from the Balkan periphery region – area I – the Körös-Starcevo culture area, and the development was taken to its end by the culture associated with the Linear Band Ceramic culture of area III, which itself had gone through the neolithization through the Körös culture. At the same time, the Central European Notenkopf Pottery (the genetic predecessor of the Tripolje-Cucuteni-Erösol Painted Potteries) spread into Moldova and western Ukraine.

The region east of the Dnieper went through neolithization partly as a result of influences coming from the south, across the Crimea. Especially new influences, however, came from Central Asia in the form of influences from the so-called Oasis and Khorezm culture. The earliest pottery of these two regions demonstrates the mentioned differences very clearly. These are noticeable between the Körös-influenced Bug-Dniester culture and Dnieper-Donets or Yamnaya cultures (influences of Kelteminat-type eastern pottery types).⁵³

The Northern Forest Zone

The earliest potteries of the northern forest (taiga) zone and the Baltic region have not been influenced at all by the Moldovian Körös-Starcevo and the early Central European Linear Band Ceramic that had spread all the way to the southwestern parts of the Pripjat marches,⁵⁴ although it would have been expected for both geographical and chronological reasons (both are clearly older than the earliest ceramics of the region between the Dnieper- and the Volga Rivers and that of the Volga region). A. Kosko's map⁵⁵ shows well the geographic relationship of the Central European Early Linear Band Pottery

⁵³D. Ja. Telegin, Osnovni periodi istoritsnogo rozvitku naselenia teritorii Ukraini. (*Arheologija Kiev* 1993:1), pp. 15-23; D. Ja. Telegin, Iranian hydronyms and archaeological cultures in the Eastern Ukraine. (*JIES* 18:1-2, 1990), pp. 109-129; Nuñez's 1990 map 2 shows well the earlier pottery zones of the left bank of the Dnieper.

⁵⁴See above V. Dergachev's and O. Larina's article about the later Körös-type pottery that is related to Alföld Linear Pottery's earlier Szatmár group. See V. K. Pyasetsky and G. V. Ohrimenko, Studies of Linear-Band ceramics relics in the Volyn area (*Arheologia Kiev*, 1994:4), pp. 69-82 and L. Czerniak, The Neolithization of the Kuyavian communities (*Archaeologia Polona* 28, 1988), pp. 49-69 about the very early Linear Pottery reaching near the marshes of Pripjat; L. Czerniak, Wczesny i srodkowy okres neolitu na Kujawach, 5400-3650 p.n.e. (Poznan 1994).

⁵⁵The origin of the Vistula-Dnieper development of the community of Sub-Neolithic cultures. (In Jones-Bley and Huld 1996) Fig. 1.

reaching to the Vistula valley and the two southern tributaries of the Pripyat River, the Goryn- and Sluts Rivers, and the later Comb- and Pit Ware ceramics of the East European forest zone.

The fact above has not been given an explanation as yet. Therefore, we cannot know why the Körös culture and Notenkopf cultures, which demonstrate strong powers of assimilation stopped at the southwestern and western boundaries – the marshlands of the Dniester- Vistula- and Pripyat – of the North European forest zone. The causes of the emergence of this border of their distribution may have been due to the climate and soil.⁵⁶ The reason may also have been that the innovations (neolithization) spread by them moved toward the north only to that region in which related languages were already spoken. This phenomenon is seen well in the previously mentioned boundary in the Tisza valley in Jósaszág between the areas I and III. Here, the southern wave of expansion of the Körös culture stopped at the southern boundary of the local Mesolithic culture along a strip of about 100 kilometers. The reasons were in part geographical and in part ethno-linguistic. The Körös culture stopped here at the boundary of the early predecessor of another Indo-European dialect group (*le vocabulaire du nordouest*).⁵⁷

The first Inhabitants of the East Baltic Region and Finland

Before addressing the important issue of the arrival of the first pottery to the taiga zone and especially to the Baltic region, we must take the earliest settlement of the Baltic region, especially its northern parts, Finland, and Karelia into consideration. As I have presented before, this is such an important problem because the first permanent settlement of these regions (also that of Scandinavia) clearly was a result of a migration. Three or four Ice Ages have completely obliterated the earliest signs of human presence (with the exception of the already famous Susi Cave in Finland with its Middle Paleolithic remains: according to the information from Prof. Christian Carpelan). The southern boundary of each ice sheet was south of the Niemen River (see the map).

⁵⁶The Körös culture, and the agricultural cultures of the early Neolithic southeastern Europe in general, seems to have avoided lands of deposition soils and without waterways. See Makkay, 1996, pp. 39-41.

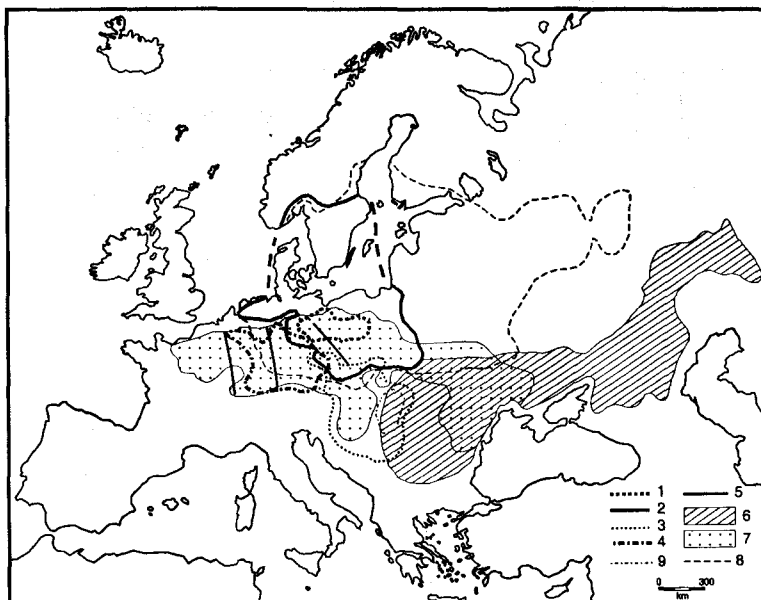
⁵⁷See Makkay, 1996, p. 42.

About 13,000 BC when the last Ice Age started passing away, the ice cover remained on some spots of the most of the area at least six thousand years. The ice retreated about 100 meters a year. During the final Paleolithic, hunters who already followed the Mesolithic way-of-life followed the spread of plants and animals to north.⁵⁸ There are no Paleolithic sites in Karelia, Finland, and Estonia. The northernmost Paleolithic sites are known from regions of Kaunas and Vilnius in Lithuania, and they represent Magdalenian and Swidry technologies.⁵⁹ The first mentioned is a Western European group, but it does not mean that people would have moved to east from the French caves (direction 1 on the map). The Swidry technology belongs to the East and Central European loess regions (most closely the South Russian steppe), and is the immediate successor of the Gravettian technocomplex, a mammoth and reindeer hunting culture. Hunters using the Swidry technology moved slowly toward north behind the game, especially reindeer herds, following the retreating ice. At the same time, hunting societies using Swidry type of lithic technology still lived in the Crimean region.⁶⁰ Characteristics of certain lithic technology do not themselves indicate certain ethnic classification. Similarly, there is no ethno-linguistic or other significance that the Narva Pottery can be differentiated from the actual Comb- and Pit Wares by the fact that there can be found still Swidry-type stone artifacts (or those pointing to that direction) among the Narva finds. This only proves that all stone-working methods, as well as all the other techniques (drilling, scraping, cutting, chopping, and grinding), found to be good during the first stage of the Neolithic period continued to be in use. We get much more information if we study the origins and distributions of these early finds according to specifications of the model I have presented over extensive areas and in large contexts, and not analyzing different lithic artifacts separately.

⁵⁸See S. K. Kozłowski, A survey of Early Holocene cultures of the Western part of the Russian Plain. (In *the Mesolithic in Europe*, ed. by Clive Bonsall, Edinburgh 1986), pp. 424-441.

⁵⁹N. A. Beregovaja, *Paleolitičeskoia mestomahožd'eniia SSSR* (1958-1970). (Leningrad, 1984), pp. 57-59, and map 2.

⁶⁰V. Ö. A., Janevic, Die Neolithisierung auf der Krim. Kulturaspekte. (*Praeh. Zeitschrift* 70, 1995), p. 27, az epigravettian-alapok.



Map 2. 1 = the area of origins of the Funnel Beaker Culture (TRB), 2 = The final distribution area of the TRB, 3 = the distribution area of the Baden Culture, 4 = the area the Michelsberg culture, 5 = lines dividing different groups of the western and central areas of the Linear Pottery (after M. Zapotocka), 6 = Kurgan culture's distribution including also its Carpathian Basin and lower Danubian sites, 7 = the largest distribution territory of the Linear Pottery, 8 = the largest distribution of the Corded Ware (the Boat Axe Culture), 9 = the distribution of the Linear Pottery of the East Hungarian plain (i.e. the Alföld Linear Pottery).

In this way, we can determine that the so-called Magdalenian-type stone artifacts spread toward northeast only until the Nieman- and Neris rivers, whereas the Swidry culture reached to the Dvina (Daugava) river valley in Latvia. The earliest archeological discoveries from Estonia date to the Mesolithic period. Finds from Pulli are dated to ca. 9000 B.C.⁶¹ Material from the site belongs to the Kunda Culture, and its people have naturally arrived from the south, from some area in White Russia (Belarussia). The earliest archeological discoveries of Finland, the Suomusjärvi material, exhibit characteristics of evolved Mesolithic and late Kunda Culture types.⁶² The entire Baltic region became free of the ice cover ca. 9000 BC. Since then, especially hunting tribes moving north from the ancient East-Gravettian groups of Ukraine and the steppe region east of the Dnieper – users of the Swiderian technology – moved via the broad valley of the Upper Dnieper into the plain being gradually freed from the ice (the direction is shown by arrow 2 on Map 1). (This migration apparently explains the similarities between the Crimean and Baltic Swidry-type artifacts.) These southern hunters moved toward the northeast and ended ca. 7000 BC in the regions of Karelia and Archangel as well as to the Dvina (Daugava) River. It was still impossible to enter most parts of Finland because its western parts were still covered by ice and eastern parts were covered by cold lakes. These obstacles disappeared (partly) only when the Baltic shield rose up after the ice melted more.⁶³ (Finland is the land of lakes as a result of the Ice Age period water basins that have partly survived to modern times.) These first hunters, however, went northward going around the ice cap (which covered the Kola Peninsula, Finland, and Scandinavia minus the coastal regions and the Gulf of Bothnia) arriving in the narrow ice-free (due to the Gulf Stream) coastal strip of Norway. Here, at the half way point along the coast, they met a Mesolithic hunting population originating from the North European Plain and going from

⁶¹Kaarel Jaanits, *Vanimata asukate jäljed navesti ääres*. (Horisont, Tallin, 1981:7), pp. 27-34. A map on page 33 shows late Paleolithic sites of the Dvina (Daugava) River valley; L. Jaanits und K. Jaanits, *Frühmesolithische Siedlung in Pulli*. (Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia, Uhiskonnateadus, 24:1, 1975), pp. 64-70.

⁶²Núñez, 1987, pp. 9-10 and the map of figure 5.

⁶³See H. Matiskainen, *Die mesolithische Steinzeit und die Chronologie im Binnenseen-Gebiet Finnlands*. (*Fennoscandia archaeologica* 4, Helsinki, 1987), pp. 19-34 about the oldest, or the Mesolithic, finds of this region.

south to north. Cultures of these first arrivals, the Mesolithic hunters, are called Kunda Culture in the East Baltic region, Komsa Culture in the northern Arctic Sea coast, and Fosna Culture in the coast of southern and middle Norway.

It is clear in the Baltic case that the Mesolithic hunters arrived from some large area of the Dnieper River valley, even partly from the right bank of the Dnieper, and that they were descendants of the mammoth and reindeer hunters of the Late Paleolithic Gravettian culture. Particular features of the archaeological material – such as the lithic technology – give indicators of this relationship. This archeological connection with the eastern Gravettian is very complex from the ethno-linguistic point-of-view. Considerable difficulties are encountered in a case if we think that one (southern) part of the populations of the Gravettian culture spoke a Proto-Indo-European language and the other, which wandered northwards, was Uralic-speaking. The spread of the eastern Gravettian culture from the East European steppe to loess region all the way to the Rhine confirm that these immigrants spoke an Indo-European protolanguage and were predecessors of both the northwestern and the Indo-Iranian dialect groups. The Uralic- and Indo-European protolanguages could be derived from the same techno-ethnic zone only in that case, however, if we believe in an Indo-Uralic genetic relationship. This is, however, not the case.

Dealing with this question would exceed the boundaries of this paper. Therefore, I only refer shortly to a possibility I already presented in 1985. According to this, there was between the Urals and the upper Dnieper during the late Paleolithic next to the northern zone of the east Gravettian culture parallel to the ice border an independent ethno-linguistic area, where the inhabitants spoke very early variant of the Uralic proto-variant.⁶⁴ Miklós Gábori has named this area of the tundra region “the tundra oikumene”, and it corresponds with Nuñez’s marginal zone, which he considers the homeland of the Proto-Uralic-speakers. Furthermore, K. Julku has named the region the eastern half of the periglacial zone.⁶⁵

⁶⁴A detailed examination of the question is provided by Makkay, 1991, pp. 193-197 and 266-269.

⁶⁵Makkay, 1991, p. 267 and the following; Nuñez, 1987, pp. 12-13 and map 1; K. Julku, *Suomalais-ugrilaisten alkukodin ongelma. (Rajamailla 2, Rovaniemi 1996)*,

The first hunters who spread north to the Karelia region and later to the inland of Finland arrived in the north via such a corridor through which hunting groups were moving from areas of the lower- and central Volga basin toward north. The direction was at first through the Lake Onega region to the central and northern parts of Karelia, and furthermore, partly to the Arctic Ocean zone of the arctic region and partly to Finland's southern parts being freed from the ice (direction 3 on the map). These movements continued until the fourth millennium BC, since new territories were still being freed from water that had originated from melting of the ice.⁶⁶

The settlement of the Baltic region and, therefore, Finland, did not happen in one wave, but it was a result of a long process that lasted at least 7000 years. It is essential to be aware that we should rule out the possibility of original aboriginal and later assimilated pre-Uralic population and the substrate left by it because of the existence of the ice cover. The only exception can be if such a pre-Uralic population spoke a Proto-Lapponic language form which was not an Uralic dialect. Thousands of years of continuous northward migration does not allow any kind of group formations or integrations between wandering and spreading groups. Groups that started to move were not necessarily originally isolated from each other, but they became necessarily such as a result of migrations. Diversity of North European Mesolithic lithic technology and different exceptions are proof of this phenomena. As a result of northward expansions, both the stone technology of moving groups (following the retreat of the ice cap) and also their spoken, Uralic dialects diverged gradually from one another.

Who were the Northern Hunters?

An important question that still remains is what was the ethnicity of the northern hunters. Because the area in question is so large and variable and the time-depth is considerably great (dealing with populations that have wandered north during a period of at least 7000 years), we must take into account a

p. 143. Contrary to Julku, I do not necessarily consider the Maglemose and Fosna cultures as Finno-Ugrian. I associate them with very early Proto-Saami tribes, whose Finno-Ugric status depends on the process through which they originated; whether the Proto-Saami changed language or not.

⁶⁶See Makkay, 1991, pp. 190-191 and 239-241 about later parts; with further references and literature.

possibility that different ethnic groups, speakers of different protolanguages, or dialect groups were involved. Without even mentioning here about cultural and linguistic divergence developments occurring during the Mesolithic period, or certain dialectal groupings of proto-languages, we must note that we have only indirect information of all of these processes, which due to the openness of my model can be derived from later periods.

The neolithization, in a very special form, followed the route of the earlier discussed reindeer hunters northward through the Dnieper valley and, somewhat later, the Volga region. The period during which the first pottery was introduced in the northern forest zone of the Baltic region and in southern Finland already at the end of the Mesolithic period is erroneously called the Subneolithic period.⁶⁷ The expression means that it is not yet a fully developed Neolithic culture characterized by skill to make vessels from clay, but where pottery became common in a new environment. This is entirely possible, since the pottery making was invented only at the centers of civilizations. The skill to make pottery is dependent on the Neolithic revolution.

The way in which ceramics spread to the north rules out the possibility that it would have spread there with migrating ethnic groups. In this case, it should have spread there at the same time with other technological inventions of the Neolithic period. It is entirely unambiguous that neither Narva nor Comb- and Pit-Ware can be associated with Finno-Ugric or other ethnic groups. Neither were those peoples and cultures living further south among which these two types of pottery were spreading.⁶⁸ Finno-Ugrians were those still Mesolithic people of the northern forests, who had arrived in the north as the first hunters and who adopted the use of pottery when it was appropriate to them. These people were representatives of the Kunda technology, as well as their relatives and contemporaries. I think that if somebody considers the people making Narva pottery as Indo-Europeans or even early Proto-Baltic-speakers, it is an understandable statement of nationalistic feeling – now freed

⁶⁷Núñez, 1990. The expression is just the opposite of PPN (Pre-Pottery Neolithic) and poor, because, for example, the Submycenaean refers to the successor of the Late Mycenaean pottery and not the one preceding it.

⁶⁸Csernyecov mixed just these two questions.

from under brutal Soviet rule – that has gone overboard.⁶⁹

The settlement of the Baltic region and Finland did not occur at once with one wave. However, there are so many similar traits in the different stages that these early hunters – wherever they came from – can be considered as descendants of the late Paleolithic Gravettian people of the steppe region between the Dnieper-, and Volga rivers and the Urals. This situation corresponds well with the view that the earliest pottery of the zone between the Baltic Sea and the Urals can be derived from some subgroup of Central Asian comb-decorated and types with pointed based in Central Asia. The neolithization of the European forest zone started when the subneolithic pottery arrived in the region via the Dnieper valley and the regions east of it from the Central Asian periphery.⁷⁰ As I mentioned, I am not an expert on Narva ceramics, nor an expert on the Comb- and Pit-Ware. However, based on what I examined with the help of Professor K. Jaanits in 1989 in Tallinn, I think that there are no significant differences between the Narva and the more recent Comb-Wares.⁷¹ Based on finds I saw in Tallinn, I consider the oldest Comb- or Pit-Ware of the Baltic region as the direct descendant of the Narva ceramics. The spread of the Narva Pottery is, therefore, a subneolithic phenomena which originates from the southeast. Neolithic inventions are completely misunderstood, if we associate the northeastern spread of the Comb- and Pit-Ware with the spread of the Proto-Finn dialect group.

The Language of the Northern Hunters

The earliest settlers of Finland, the Baltic region and the entire European forest zone spoke dialects of the Uralic protolanguage with the highest probabilities. It is not at all certain that successors of all of these dialects would have lived

⁶⁹A. Girininkas, *The Narva culture and the origin of the Baltic culture*. (In Jones-Bley and Huld 1996), pp. 42-47; a better view of the development of the Baltic people was given by a collection of articles published in Riga in 1980: *Iz drevneisei istorii baltских narodov, po dannum arheologii i antropologii*, edited by Sz. Mugurevich (Riga, 1980). On page 13 he refers to one important question: the Corded Ware people did not include only Proto-Balts, but equally well proto-Slavs and proto-Germans. The model I use allows this solution: the TRB is, as a whole, to be associated with antecedents of the Proto-Germans, -Slavs, and - Balts. The TRB groups expanding toward northeast already used the Corded Ware and their dialect was already diverging to become Proto-Baltic.

⁷⁰See Nuñez, 1990, pp. 31-35 for more about this topic.

⁷¹Also Nuñez, 1990, p. 31.

until their first emergence into history. Proof of this is provided by noticeable continuity in the settlement patterns and traditions of the entire region since the times of the first settlement during the Mesolithic period in addition to already mentioned factors. This continuity is seen, for example, in small-sized art objects, such as human and animal figurines made of stone, reindeer antler, and wood, which have maintained Neolithic characteristics, and which were still encountered during the period of the Ananjino culture.⁷² The continuity shows well in the settlement patterns and other traits. For example, as survival of old lithic artifact types. We can rightfully assume based on these and other factors that there has been only one such population movement in the northern Baltic region and Finland that can be used to explain the arrival of the Uralic/Finno-Ugric populations. This movement took place already during the Mesolithic during the time of the first settlement after the retreat of the ice cap.

The continuity was not disturbed by new waves of migration after 4000 BC. The appearance of the Comb Ware did not mean new mass immigration, especially because it took place without and before the real neolithization. On the other hand, the spread of the Corded Ware and the cereal cultivation spreading with it into the Baltic region and southern Finland was undoubtedly connected with population movements.⁷³ However, we know that these Corded Ware immigrants were speakers of some northeastern Indo-European dialects, and, therefore,

⁷²H. Schwerin von Krosigh, *Bemerkungen zu elf Idolen des 8-6. Jahrhunderts v. Christus aus der älteren Nekropole von Achmylova am linken Wolgaufer.* (*Praeh. Zeitschrift* 67:1, 1992), pp. 43-65, például 46.

⁷³A short review of the spread of the Battle/Boat Axe culture in Finland and later prehistory is provided by Kristina Jennbert, *Neolithisation processes in the Nordic area.* (*Swedish Archaeology* 1981-1985. Udevalla, 1987), pp. 29-30; more recently Gösta Bagenholm, *Corded Ware ceramics in Finland and Sweden.* (*Fennoscandia archaeology* 12, Helsinki, 1995), pp. 19-23; R. Rimentiene and G. Cesnys, *The Late Globular Amphora Culture and its creators...* (*JIES* 18, 1991), pp. 341-358; A. Kosko, *The Vistula Oder basins and the North Pontic region.* (*JIES* 19, 1991), pp. 235-257; A. Butrimas and G. Cesnys, *The emergence of the Pamariu (Baltic coastal) group of Indo-Europeans according to the archaeological and anthropological data.* (*JIES* 18, 1991), pp. 361-377; H. Matiszkainen, *Essay über die Ökonomie, die Migration und die Adaption...der Schnurkeramik speziell unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Ost-Baltikums und Finnlands.* (*Suomen Museo* 1993 [1994]), pp. 9-25, esp. Fig. 8; H. Asplund, *Radiocarbon dating of Jäkärlä ceramics, a comment on Comb-Ware chronology and typology.* (*Karhunhammas* 16, Turku, 1995), pp. 69-75.

could not have brought the Finno-Ugric language nor people to the Baltic region. Here, I have presented only the main points about the complex thoughts I have developed about the prehistory of the Baltic-Finns.⁷⁴

Central European Cultures

The Funnel Beaker culture, or the TRB, developed around the middle of the third millennium BC (during the first half of the fourth millennium according to the radiocarbon dating) in the region between the Weser and Vistula rivers. Its genetic antecedents were the central European Linear Pottery and its successors, the Stroke Ornamented Pottery (Stichbandkeramik) and local variants of the eastern painted pottery the so-called Lengyel culture of western Poland and the western part of the Tripolye-Cucuteni culture.⁷⁵ This TRB culture started to expand very fast after its emergence. The neolithization reached southern Scandinavia with its expansion. In the east, the TRB conquered also territories of tribes of the eastern painted pottery behind the Bug River all the way to the Pripyat and Goryn valleys. In the northeast, it breached the boundary of the Linear Pottery at the Vistula and spread all the way to the mouth of the Niemen (Nemunas) River, as well as assimilated the region between the lower course of the Vistula and the Niemen (Nemunas) River. The Nemunas culture lived in this area at the same time as the late phase of the Kunda culture. The Niemen (Nemunas) River formed a sharp boundary between the Nemunas and Kunda cultures or the Narva culture which developed as the successor of the last mentioned. The earlier pottery of the Nemunas culture includes characteristics suggesting influences coming from the Dnieper area, whereas characteristics of the Narva culture indicate the area east of the Dnieper. However, both are of eastern origin and continue the Keltameria tradition of Central Asia. Influences of southwestern (Körös culture) or western (Linear Pottery) potteries are not present.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Earlier in more detail: Makkay, 1991, pp. 197-212; Makkay, 1990, pp. 61-63; Makkay, 1992a, pp. 209-211; Makkay, 1992b, pp. 11-15.

⁷⁵See K.-P. Wechler, *Mesolithikum-Bandkeramik-Trichterbecherkultur* (Lübstorf, 1993), pp. 13-59 for additional information about the development of the TRB from Linear Pottery backgrounds, its expansion, and the assimilation of the Ertebölle.

⁷⁶Zur Geschichte der Verbalklasse auf - g. (Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung [Historische Sprachforschung] 62, 1935), p. 104.

Already half a century ago, F. Specht defined the TRB-culture as Indo-Germanic and there are no reasons to change this view in light of information accumulated during the last 50 years. Many researchers agree that the original area of the TRB before its northward expansion (the coast and South Scandinavia), or the regions between the Weser and Vistula rivers, was settled by people speaking two dialects of the northeastern Indo-European dialect continuum, Proto-Germanic and Proto-Baltic. We can look for the Proto-Slavic homeland in the southeastern area of the TRB, or between the Vistula and the Dniester rivers (where the western zone of the eastern Painted-Tripolye-Cucuteni Potteries had been assimilated). The TRB and its immediate successor, the Globular Amphora culture (Kugelamphoren-kultur) can be associated with the predecessors of Proto-Germanic, Proto-Baltic, and Proto-Slavic that had already separated, or were separating, from the northeastern dialect continuum. The eastern group of the TRB spreading to the east Baltic region must be associated with the Proto-Baltic.⁷⁷

At least by 2500 BC, a direct contact between two large archeological cultures, the TRB and the Comb Ware took place in the Baltic region. Material differences of the two cultural complexes are so large, areas of origin, genetic ancestors, and directions of expansions so distant and contradictory that we must assume that they represent two entirely different ethnic groups and languages. It is natural to associate the eastern part of the TRB with one distinct group of the northwestern dialect continuum of the Indo-European (i.e. the Proto-Baltic), whereas the ancient settlement of the east Baltic region together with that of the forest zone or most of it can be associated with large territories of the early Uralic/Finno-Ugric languages. It would cause difficulties in the latter case if we assumed that representatives of Mesolithic and Subneolithic groups, or the Kunda, Nemunas, and Narva cultures (and representatives of cultures contemporary with them in Finland), were not Finno-Ugrians, but only *Comb Ware*-using people would be identified as such who moved in their territories from the southwest. Many researchers in the Baltic countries and Finland think this way.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Makkay, 1991, p. 205, and additional information in footnote 249; Makkay, 1992a, pp. 209-211.

⁷⁸See Makkay, 1991, p. 251 about the partial or complete Finno-Ugric status of

In this case earlier people making Narva and Nemunas pottery and their antecedents, the Mesolithic hunters and fishers, should actually be associated with some third protolanguage. A reader may consider everything presented thus far complicated. If this theoretically possible alternative (which I do not believe.) is taken into account, my presentation would entirely disintegrate. As a result, I only suggest that assuming the existence of a third protolanguage would also presuppose the type of frames of thought as, for example, Knut Bergsland's handling of the Eskimo-Aleut hypotheses.⁷⁹ In that case we should also wonder whether Proto-Saami was originally Uralic at all, or whether the Saami adopted the Uralic language only through language shift.⁸⁰ The discussion of these hypothetical issues would, however, make my hypotheses formulation too complicated.

The TRB culture developed into Corded Ware culture (Schnurkeramik), also known as the Battle Axe culture and Boat Axe culture (Bootaxtkultur) during its later developmental stage at the end of the third millennium BC. The Battle Axe culture developed from elements of the TRB and Globular Amphorae between the Czech Basin and Galitzia north of the Carpathian Range, and spread rapidly everywhere in the earlier TRB territories and beyond. In the east it expanded north of the Niemen (Nemunas) and Dvina (Daugava) rivers and reached the eastern parts of Estonia, the shores of Peipsi and Pihkova lakes. It is entirely clear that this culture spread in the east Baltic region from the northeastern TRB territory east of the Vistula and not from the south (the Yamnaya-, Dnieper-Donets-, or Fatjanova cultures). Carriers of this eastern TRB group spoke without doubt an Indo-European language, probably the immediate predecessor of the Proto-Baltic, the distribution area of which covered the entire region between the Vistula River and the Proto-Finnish territory.

We can consider it very certain that in the entire northern

the combined Comb- and Pit Ware, which followed the Narva culture.

⁷⁹The Eskimo-Uralic hypothesis. (*JFOu* 61, 1959), pp. 3-29.

⁸⁰At least eight possibilities has been presented about the possibilities of archeological interpretations of the Proto-Saami, which have not yet been thoroughly investigated. For more detail see Makkay, 1990, pp. 63, 66-67, 71, and Makkay, 1991, pp. 28, 87, 89, 192-193, 204, 207-208, 213, 240, 246, 265-269, 282. I wanted to examine this question in the Fennougrist conference in Jyväskylä in 1995, but I was unable to participate in this conference due to material reasons.

area and in Scandinavia, populations making Corded Ware vessels were also introducing agriculture. It is to their credit that there was agriculture already by 2000 BC along the Norwegian coast, coastal regions of the Gulf of Bothnia, southern Finland, and southern Karelia. I associate speakers of Proto-Baltic languages with those Corded Ware people who retreated from southern Finland around 1500 BC and established themselves in the border region of southern Estonia and Latvia, where they continued the Corded Ware tradition. There is plenty of information, which suggest that the modern boundary between the Estonian and Latvian languages corresponds with the surviving northern boundary of the Corded Ware culture after its retreat from the north. This means that here the boundary between the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European language areas has not changed during the last three and half thousands of years.

Associating agriculture with the spread of the Battle Axe culture has been the view of the Finnish research for decades. This issue has been studied a great deal during recent years. Here, it is, however, not possible to discuss this issue in greater detail in this context.

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Cartoon Humor: Do Demographic Variables and Political Correctness Influence Perceived Funniness?

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The supposed health benefit of humor has a long history, but there are those who question the validity of such claims. With Superiority Theory and Disposition Theories in mind, this study investigated age, gender and region-of-origin differences in the appreciation of cartoon humor embracing specific categories. Funniness ratings of 36 cartoons were made by 366 university students, along with a self-assessment of mood. Results showed a small increase in scores with age for work-related cartoons, and also higher scores by males for the same items, but no age or gender differences for total scores, other cartoon categories (including anti-male and anti-female examples) or region of origin. There was a significant correlation between total scores and mood rating. Previous research on gender differences had yielded mixed findings. The present results appear to be largely uninfluenced by factors other than how inherently amusing the items were deemed to be, and with scant regard for political correctness.

Key Words: Humor, cartoons, funniness, age, gender, demographics, political correctness.

The supposed beneficial effects of humor on health has been cited throughout recorded history. King Solomon wrote, circa 950 B. C. "A cheerful heart is good medicine but a crushed spirit dries up the bones" (*Proverbs*, 17:22. New International Version). Hippocrates (384 – 322 B. C.) described the four essential fluids or "humors" of life and their association with mood or disposition: black bile (sadness), yellow bile (anger), phlegm (lassitude), and blood (optimism). The physician treated the patient in order to bring the humors back into balance: this resulting (hopefully) in good humor or wellbeing. Somewhat more recently, Freud (1928/1952) espoused the therapeutic value of humor with obvious enthusiasm, commenting that " ... it takes its place in the great series of

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methods devised by man [sic] for evading the compulsion to suffer ... " (p. 217).

Most theories of humor can be classified under one of three categories, namely social, psychoanalytic, or cognitive-perceptual (Lowis and Nieuwoudt, 1993). With regard to the social, there are many avenues where humor and laughter serve as acts of communication, ranging from an infant's smile of recognition (Greig, 1923) through to communal laughter that lets others know that we have got the point of the joke (Francis, 1988). In addition, humor can aid social facilitation, and individuals are encouraged to join in social laughter to show that they are one of the "in-group" (Neuendorf and Fennell, 1988). However, a corollary of this is that, whilst the unity of the in-group may be reinforced through humor, unkind jokes about others are likely to ostracise the outsiders and reinforce the social distance between them and the insiders (La Fave, Haddad, and Maesen, 1976).

Relevant to this is Disparagement Theory, which Giora (1991) stated is based on the premise that what we laugh at is never our own, but another's weakness. In similar vein is Disposition Theory, where it is held that mirthful behaviour in response to a humorous presentation is influenced by one's affective disposition toward the agent or entity being disparaged (Gutman and Priest, 1969; Zillerman and Cantor, 1976). Moore, Griffiths, and Payne (1987) argued that, according to this proposition, women would enjoy male-disparaging humor more than female disparaging examples because the former victims are not members of the respondent's reference group. Presumably a reciprocal situation would exist with male recipients.

Freud's (1905/1976) views on the psychoanalytic theory were that humor arises from an attitude within a person regarding his or her situation. He said that it is a mechanism for deriving pleasure from intellectual activity through the saving of affect, and specifically from the saving of feeling, as contrasted with wit where the saving is of inhibition, and the comic where the saving is of thought. In addition to harmless and innocent jokes, Freud stated that there is the tendentious variety, comprising the obscene, aggressive, cynical, and what he refers to as "sceptical". Although some of the pleasure in tendentious joking derives from the economy of technique, its main source

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is held to lie in the gratification of aggressive or sexual wishes in an indirect and socially acceptable way.

Although the notion of cognitive involvement in humor is relatively recent in comparison with some other theories, comments that hint at the mental processes involved do nevertheless date back at least 300 years (Greig, 1923). Suls (1972) stated that humor results from the perception of an initial incongruity, which is then made congruous in an unexpected way. If there is no resolution or no surprise, or if the initial puzzle is resolved perfectly logically, then there is no humor. Martin (2001) stated that humor is a concept involving cognitive, emotional, behavioural, psychophysiological and social aspects.

Drawing on such diversity of views, as well as their own research, Lowis and Nieuwoudt (1993) attempted a unified definition of the humor phenomenon. They noted that, although some of today's humor may be only a little removed from its postulated aggressive origins in primitive times, for example the amusement gained from witnessing the misfortune of others, humor in civilised human beings usually involves higher and more complex mental processes than mere raw emotion. As Freud (1905/1976) stated, humor rises from an attitude within an individual regarding his or her situation. It follows that a scenario will be seen as amusing if it parodies in a somewhat exaggerated (but not excessively) form, something to which the beholder can relate.

A number of methodologies are available to researchers who wish to assess aspects of sense of humor in their participants. These include observation of mirth responses following the presentation of humorous material (e. g. Chapman and Chapman, 1974), observations of interactions and relationships in naturalistic settings (e. g. Flaherty, 1990), self-reports on "what makes you laugh?" (e. g. Heckel and Kvetensky, 1972), or keeping "humor diaries" to record amusing incidences over a period of time (e. g. Mannell and McMahon, 1982). Humor questionnaires, mostly of the joke-rating kind, date back to the 1940s (Lefcourt and Martin, 1986), but credit for pioneering work on such scales is due to Svebak (1974) and his Sense of Humor Questionnaire.

The rating of stimulus material for funniness seems to date from work in the early 1940s when Eysenck used magazine

cartoons (Wilson, 1979), and Redlich, Levine, and Sohler (1951) with their Mirth Response Test comprising 20 cartoons representing a variety of themes. Redlich and colleagues cited the dual nature of cartoon humor: the pictorial representation ("iconic character") and the symbolic nature, both of which need to be understood in order to "get" the joke.

Standardised sets of cartoons or similar stimulus material are rarely available in the public domain, and it is usually necessary for researchers to compile their own. However, this does at least direct the researcher into selecting items and tailoring the methodology according to the requirements of the particular study, for example the characteristics of the participants, the pertaining socio-political climate, and the humor themes required by the research hypothesis. Lewis and Nieuwoudt (1995) made use of newspaper and magazine cartoons in order to investigate the relationship between humor and a number of life measures, including aspects of subjective wellbeing. Their Humor Response Scale (HRS) comprised 36 newspaper cartoons containing examples of six themes: male dominance (i. e. anti-women), female dominance (i. e. anti-men), sex, the workplace, misfortune, and simple nonsense. A small panel of social scientists validated the categories. Items are rated for funniness on a six-point scale (6 = not funny at all, through 6 = very funny). After administration to 129 participants aged 18 to 75 years, the K-R 20 reliability was found to be .96.

Factor analysis of the scores, using the principle components method and a minimum eigen value of 1. 0, yielded seven factors but interestingly, with the possible exception of items with a sexual content, no obvious relationships were found between the factors and the cartoon themes. By far the dominant factor indicated that funniness ratings were linked to cartoons involving two or more people, with an adult male either being derided or about to meet with misfortune. Family relationships were involved, and the cartoons may have represented exaggerations of negative aspects of home life or reflections of anti-social domestic thoughts or sarcasm. Some verbal cognitive skills were usually required for the interpretation of these items. Whilst no gender differences were revealed, there was a significant increase in scores with age, which lends support to the relevance of life experience in the appreciation of humor based on typical everyday situations.

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Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, there were no significant correlations between HRS scores and those from other humor measures, suggesting that assessing appreciation for cartoon humor cannot stand alone to verify sense of humor *per se*.

The present study, conducted with participants in the United Kingdom (UK), was designed firstly to seek confirmation of the gender and age findings from the original study conducted nearly a decade earlier in South Africa (Lowis and Nieuwoudt, 1995). In particular, it was wished to see if the current climate of sensitivity to "political correctness" in humor would influence the ratings of cartoons based on obvious gender stereotypes. Secondly it aimed to investigate any relationship between mood and cartoon ratings among each of the three undergraduate years. Ruch, Kohler, and van Thriel (1997) postulated that a cheerful affect would increase the inclination to laugh at a given stimulus, compared with a serious state of mind or a bad mood.

Finally, it aimed to explore possible differences in humor appreciation between students from different regions within the British Isles, and from overseas. Historically, Britain has been perceived as culturally divided between north and south, with Southerners (including the London area) being viewed as sophisticates often engaged in "clean" occupations such as finance, the civil service, or business administration. Northerners, by contrast, have come to be seen as being more working class, employed in industries related to mining, heavy engineering, and manufacturing. Although such rivalry still exists in the sporting arena, increases in population movement, and the advent of mass communication including national radio and television over the last 50 years, may now have considerably diluted any such regional differences in humor preferences and other cultural or social aspects, assuming such differences existed in the first place.

Method

Participants

Three hundred and sixty-six psychology students from a University College in the English Midlands took part, comprising 223 from first year ("freshers"), 66 from second year, and 77 from third year. In total there were 312 women and 54 men, aged from 18 to 63 years (median = 19.0, *SD* = 5.5,

excluding 4 where age was not stated). As might be expected from a university student population, 85.5% of the participants were aged 18 to 22 years. Those originating from the southern regions of England were 138 (37.7%), the Midlands 142 (38.8%), the North 25 (6.8%), with the remainder (except for 7 with unstated origins) being from Scotland, Wales, Ireland, or overseas (the latter included those whose parents were born overseas, even if the participant themselves was born in the UK, to exclude the possibility of cultural influences on humor appreciation, for example in attitudes toward the opposite sex). Participants remained anonymous.

Materials

The main dependent variable measure was the HRS described earlier, comprising 36 cartoons embracing six themes, rated for funniness on a scale of one to six, as used in a previous study (Lewis and Nieuwoudt, 1995). Although reliability had previously been found to be high, a Cronbach alpha performed on the scores from the present administration yielded a statistic of .93 for the complete scale (individual items .33 to .63); the high reliability of the scale was thus confirmed.

As a simple self-assessment measure of current mood, participants were also asked to circle a number from one to seven on a scale where one was described as negative/anxious/depressed, and seven indicated positive/self-confident/cheerful.

For demographic purposes, participants were asked to record their gender, date of birth, and region (or country, if not the UK) of origin, but not their names.

Procedure

Participants completed the exercise whilst they were assembled in a lecture theatre in cohort groups for induction sessions at the start of an academic year. It was explained that the study comprised ratings of cartoon humor for funniness, that participation was voluntary, and that anonymity was assured. A small number of students left the assemblies and did not participate. Pre-printed blanks were distributed. Participants firstly completed the demographic details, followed by the simple mood rating. The cartoons were then individually projected onto a large screen, and about 15 seconds were allowed for each rating. The need to disregard any overt

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reactions from others present was emphasised, but obviously this could not be guaranteed. It proved necessary to read aloud some captions because students at the back of the theatre could not see them. This and other potential confounding variables (including inevitable differences in style between the cartoon examples) were not thought to influence the results, as comparisons between individuals were being sought rather than absolute measures *per se*. When all items had been rated, the participants were thanked and the completed forms were collected for analysis with the aid of the computer programme Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS ver. 9.0).

Results

Lewis (2002) previously published a brief in-progress report on some preliminary results, and these are included here where applicable. Occasionally one or two cartoons were not scored by a participant. In these cases the mean scores for the remaining items in the particular category were computed, and these used to fill in the blanks. This procedure ensured consistency in the totals used for subsequent computations.

The mean funniness rating for the total HRS was 105.86, $SD = 24.32$, range = 42-170 (possible 36-216). The mean for women was 105.33 and for men 108.93. A *t*-test confirmed that the gender difference was not significant. The mean scores for each cohort were: first year = 107.81, second year = 107.52, third year = 98.51. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

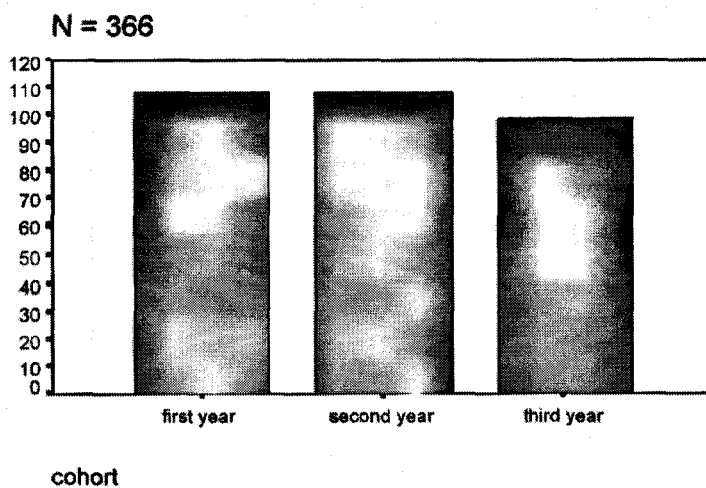
A one-way analysis of variance, with Tukey's *post hoc* significance test, showed that the third year scores were significantly lower than those for either the first or second years [$F(2) = 4.56$, $p = .01$]. There were no significant effects for region of origin, either for total HRS scores or for those from any of the individual themes.

Of the six cartoon themes, only the work-related items yielded a difference between genders, in favour of men [mean for men = 18.43 (6 items), women = 15.81, $t(364) = 3.41$; $p = .001$ (2-tail)].

The Pearson product moment correlation between total funniness scores and age was non-significant, but were no doubt influenced by the relatively narrow age range of the present participants. However, when each of the six cartoon themes were examined separately, the work-related items yielded a small

Figure 1

Mean funniness ratings and cohort



but significant one-tailed correlation with age ($r = .09$, $p = .04$). There were no significant correlations between age and the other five cartoon themes.

The mean score for mood was 4.47, $SD = 1.15$, range = 1-7 (i. e. the maximum possible). There were no significant gender, age or region of origin differences. The mean scores for each cohort were: first year = 4.35, second year = 5.05, third year = 4.33. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

A one-way analysis of variance with Tukey's *post hoc* showed that the second year scores were significantly higher than those from either the first or third years [$F(2) = 10.49$, $p = <.001$]. There was a small but significant and positive correlation between total HRS scores and mood scores [$r = .10$, $p = .05$ (2-tail)].

The cartoons rated most highly for funniness, scores from all participants combined, were as follows:

Item 17 (sexual theme), mean = 4.76 (out of possible 6).

Overweight, middle-aged woman wearing a miniscule bikini appears at the bedside of her clearly shocked husband. She says, "That wasn't your reaction when I wore it on our honeymoon".

Item 23 (male dominance theme), mean = 4.35.

Man, lounging in a chair says to his rather unlovely wife who has just arrived, "Your new hairstyle suits you dear – it's horrible".

Item 10 (simple nonsense theme), mean = 4.19.

Fortuneteller gazes into a crystal ball and says to a uniformed sailor, "You are going on a long sea voyage".

The highest rated example of a female dominance theme was placed 10th.

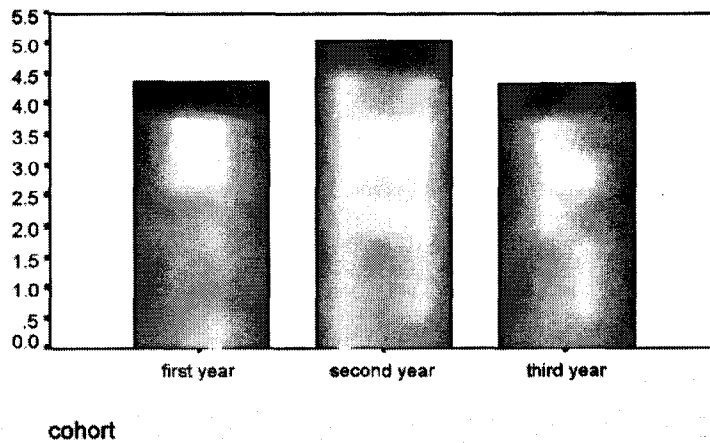
Discussion

The very fact that few significant results were obtained in this study is in itself informative. There were no regional differences in humor appreciation, no gender difference in total HRS scores and only one such difference for a cartoon theme (work related) – but specifically **not** for the themes of "gender bashing" in either direction, and little differences along

Figure 2

Mean mood ratings and cohort

N = 366



the limited participant age range (again the work theme yielding the only significant finding). HRS scores were lowest for third year students. There was a significant and positive correlation between HRS and self-rated mood scores, but no gender, age or region of origin mood effects. The mood scores were highest for second year students.

With regard to the use of such a cartoon rating scale as a measure of humor (or sense of humor), cognisance needs to be taken of the comments by Overholser (1992) that humor is a multi-dimensional construct, and in particular that humor creation and appreciation are separate dimensions. This notion is supported by the failure of Lowis and Nieuwoudt (1995) to obtain significant correlations between scores on the HRS and those obtained from a range of other humor questionnaires. Thus any conclusions drawn from the present findings may be restricted to humor appreciation, and perhaps even only to the specific medium of cartoon humor.

The lack of significant differences in scores between participants from different regions of the UK, or from overseas, supports the notion that *inter alia* increases in population mobility and the advent of mass media such as national radio and television could have eroded any regional differences in humor appreciation that may have existed in the past. However, only the UK Midlands, and Southern regions were particularly strongly represented among the present participants. The significantly lower HRS and mood scores for third-year students may have been due to a blunted sense of humor brought on by the realisation that they had now embarked on their important and perhaps onerous third and final university year. Conversely, the fact that mood scores were significantly the highest for second years might be because this middle year is regarded positively, as one is now an "old hand" at university without yet having to face the hurdle of the final year. It was not, however, feasible to explore these possible explanations at the time, largely because of the anonymity of the participants.

The significant and positive correlation between mood and humor scores across all participants is in keeping with Ruch et al. 's (1997) notion that a cheerful state is likely to facilitate overt mirth reactions to humor stimuli, and it does not initially suggest that the students were using humor as a defence mechanism to overcome negative affect (e. g. Freud, 1905/1976;

Vaillant et al, 1986). The mood ratings (albeit only a simple self-estimate) were carried out before the cartoons were shown, and thus there is no suggestion that mood was raised by exposure to the humorous stimuli. Whether or not the same participants would rate such cartoons any differently on another occasion when their mood scores might have changed, can only be confirmed by further experiment.

Humor appreciation is influenced by real life experiences, and exaggeration of these in cartoons is believed to generate vicarious enjoyment in the viewer (Lowis and Nieuwoudt, 1995). Although the 1995 study yielded a significant and positive correlation between total HRS scores and age, the present exercise only obtained such a result with the work-related theme. However, the previous participants were drawn from across a broader adult age range, whereas a large proportion of the current ones were under 23 years of age. The older a person is, the more life experiences they will have had, and the more likely they are to be amused by parodies of a wide range of events. Many of the earlier participants were married, had children, and will no doubt have had their fair share of illness and misfortune. The present students were unlikely to have shared such experiences to the same extent, although the necessity of having to work at least part-time to help fund their education no doubt exposed them to some situations that can be parodied in cartoons. As an explanation of why the only thematic gender difference was also with the appreciation of work-related humor, the male students may have had more pertinent work experience than had the females, and so found cartoons mimicking their experiences particularly amusing.

The fact that neither the earlier study nor the present one yielded any differences between genders in the mean funniness ratings of cartoons depicting either male or female dominance figures, is of particular interest. The notion that we laugh when we feel superior, at the disparagement of those we hold as inferior, thus bolstering our self-confidence, has a very long history – see for example Thomas Hobbes (1651/1969) writing in *Leviathan*, and the related ideas of La Fave et al. (1976) and Giora (1991). The current climate of “political correctness”, including for example sensitivity to the changing roles of women, would suggest that it is not appropriate to make jokes at the expense of stereotypical gender figures or traits. However,

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this consideration did not appear to influence the funniness scores reported here. Likewise Disposition Theory (Gutman & Priest, 1969; Zillerman & Cantor, 1976) does not readily account for the results, as they do not suggest that the humor responses were significantly influenced by a negative disposition of either gender toward the other, with the accompanying delight of seeing the opposite sex disparaged to make oneself feel superior. In future studies, disposition toward the opposite sex could be assessed to confirm this.

It is perhaps more likely that Cognitive-Perceptual Theory (see for example Suls, 1972 and his two-stage model of humor appreciation) is the simple explanation for the present findings. The cartoon examples seem to have been accepted at face value by both male and female participants, regardless of specific theme, and the funniness ratings awarded solely on the basis of how clever and witty (ludicrous, incongruous) they were perceived to be. The fact that some items were based on "politically incorrect" gender stereotypes does not appear to have inhibited the enjoyment of them.

Previous research on gender differences in humor appreciation has yielded mixed results. Groch (1974) administered cartoons of four themes: aggression, sex, absurdity, and displacement to 60 college students. They obtained significantly higher funniness ratings by men for the aggression and sexual items, and by women for the absurdity category (no difference for displacement examples). Herzog (1999) found that males and females equally liked sexual humor when the victim was male, but females disliked both sexual and hostile humor when the victims were female. The author speculated that the rise of the women's movement had influenced these results; the present findings, however, do not support this view.

Intermediate findings released by Wiseman (2001) on his very large, international humor study, included a note that the top rated jokes for males involved aggression, putting women down, and sexual innuendo. Female respondents, however, preferred word play. Whilst noting that previous research on gender differences on the use and effects of humor sometimes yielded contradictory findings, Lefcourt (2001) concluded that humor production in males is characteristically directed at others, whereas in females it is more often focused on the self.

By contrast, there are studies that are in keeping with the present findings. Moore et al. (1987) administered anti-female and non-sexist cartoons to college students of both genders. Although funniness ratings of the sexist humor were moderated by disposition, assessed by an Attitude Towards Women Scale, there were no significant differences between scores from male and female participants. Martin and Gray (1996) asked men and women to rate comedy tapes for funniness and enjoyability, but found no significant gender differences. Finally, Nevo, Nevo, and Yin (2001) asked undergraduate students to complete a number of humor measures, and to also supply their favourite joke. The authors reported that, contrary to expectations, very few gender differences were found.

Obviously differences in methodology and interpretation will account for the range of research findings. With regard to the present study, it is concluded that humor is appreciated if it is a parody of real-life experiences to which we can relate. It follows that the more such experiences we have had, then the more likely we are to find the type of cartoons used in this study amusing, as they may generate vicarious enjoyment in the viewer (Lewis and Nieuwoudt, 1995). Being able to laugh at not only one's own situation (the ridiculous in ourselves), but also *with* others at theirs, is surely the mature defence mechanism that Freud (1905/1976) and Vaillant et al. (1986) envisaged. Politically incorrect humor thus appears to be alive and well.

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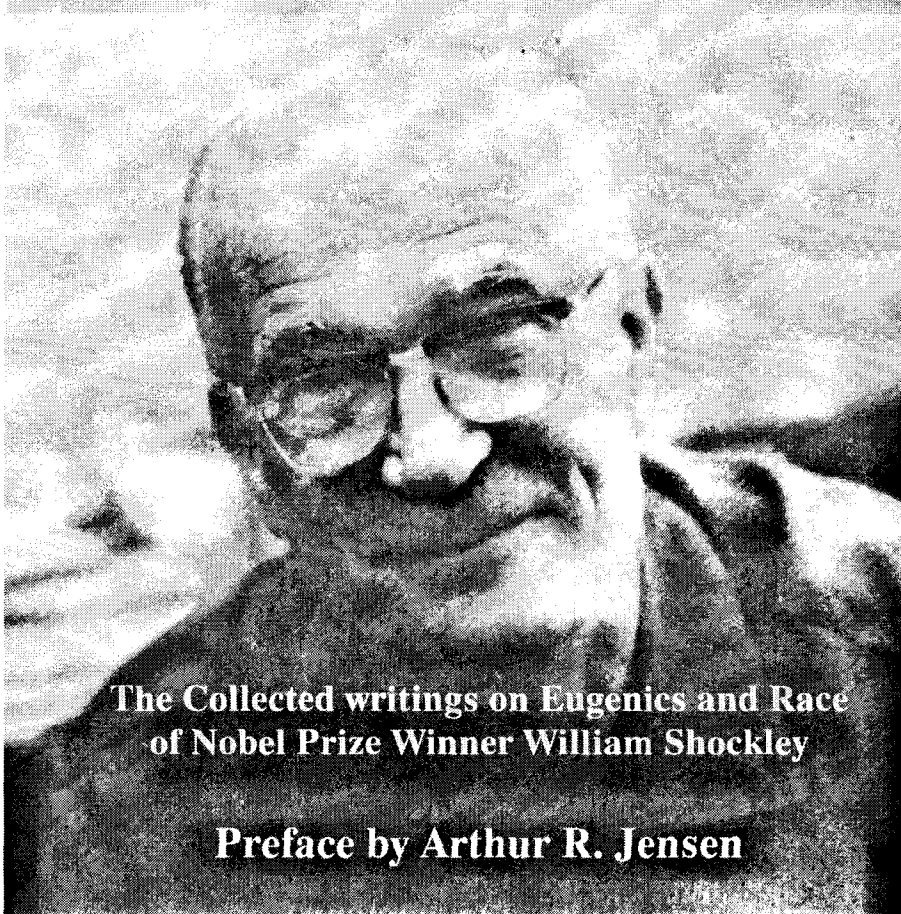
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Shockley

on Eugenics and Race



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Hermann J. Muller: Nobel-Prize Winning Eugenicist

James Jamieson

Council for Social and Economic Studies, Washington D.C.

The author examines the life and writings of a renowned geneticist of far-left ideological persuasions who warned that modern societies had severely reduced the biologically cleansing effect of natural selection. Seeking to revolutionize society both economically *and* biologically, Muller recognized the existence of substantial racial differences in man, although his egalitarian ideology induced him to trust in the power of culture to mask the full impact of such differences.

Key Words: Hermann J. Muller, human genetics, eugenics, dysgenics, natural selection, inbreeding, "genetic load," communism.

Over the past six or seven decades it has been customary to associate eugenic concern for future generations with extreme "rightist" political attitudes. The mere suggestion of concern about the quality of the genetic legacy that contemporary generations will donate to future generations is liable to provoke charges of fascism or nazism. Those, however, who have troubled to investigate the history of the eugenic ideal will know that during the first part of the twentieth century concern for the well-being of future generations was as important to conscientious intellectuals of the left as it was to those of the right.

A classic example of a healthy, concerned attitude toward the problem of genetic deterioration facing modern outbreeding societies is found in the career of the Communist-sympathizing University of Texas geneticist, Hermann J. Muller, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for his successful manipulation of the genetics of *Drosophila*. Muller was the first man in history to effect a permanent heritable change in the genetic structure of a living organism by human intervention in the laboratory. Although an ideological egalitarian, Muller was a committed eugenicist who strove to alert the world to the urgent threat of genetic decay implicit in modern civilized societies. It could perhaps be said that he believed that mankind should be leveled up rather than leveled down, as most of the revolutionary Communists of his time seemed to desire.

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Although in this article I propose to highlight the views only of Muller, it is important to realize that a fair proportion of the educated socialists of his time were sympathetic to the need to recognize the significance of biology in shaping the character of human societies. This is worth emphasizing if only because so many of today's socialists still downplay the importance of biology and heredity amongst humans, despite the well-known success of the human genome project. Indeed, most early socialists supported the idea that scientific knowledge should be utilized by mankind for the benefit of both living and future generations. Both Saint-Simon and August Comte, regarded as the founders of sociology, were committed to this view.

When genetic science began to reveal the basic overriding influence of heredity on human physical and mental capabilities, conscientious thinkers of all persuasions throughout Europe and North America quickly recognized that the principles by which the quality of plants and animals had been improved by selective breeding might be applied to humanity. In the absence of selective breeding, the conditions of life in modern societies was seen to be reversing natural selection and lowering the genetic quality of each succeeding generation of mankind.

Support for the eugenic ideal quickly came from a wide range of intellectuals. These included not only traditionalists who had always retained their belief in the efficacy of good breeding, combined with good training, but also progressive thinkers. Those who cared for the unfortunates of this world saw how easily much human suffering could be eliminated in future generations by eugenic policies. Thus, such a renowned socialist sympathizer as George Bernard Shaw (whose *Man and Superman*¹ was essentially an ode to the inborn instinct to procreate the race) complained that, "being cowards, we defeat natural selection under cover of philanthropy."

H.G. Wells, another socialist reformer who cared for posterity, proclaimed that the children people bring into the world can be no more their private concern entirely, than the disease germs they disseminate. Others who supported the eugenic ideal were the youthful John Maynard Keynes; the left-leaning Julian Huxley, who sought not revolution but the

¹ George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman*, 1965, p. 159 London: Paul Hamlyn

reduction of human suffering by genetic improvement; and J.B.S. Haldane, who accepted Marxist values but always opposed its anti-hereditarian extremes. Numerous other social reformers of that time, such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, embraced the eugenic ideal. They were patriotic in the tradition of William Morris and Charles Dickens and eschewed revolutionary socialism, but feared that emerging capitalism was a threat to the traditional bliss of agrarian England. Much misery, they felt, could be eliminated by rearing fit and healthy children rather than children burdened by genetic weaknesses and handicaps.

Havelock Ellis, an ardent advocate of social change, also joined the eugenics cause. He supported the call for female liberation, but at the same time emphasized the essential role women play in ensuring the future of the race. Ellis (1912, pps. 46-47, 205) declared that the aims of eugenics "could only be attained with the realization of the woman movement in its latest and completest phase as an enlightened culture of motherhood." The 'new St. Valentine,' he observed, would be a scientific saint, not one of folklore, because it would be recognized that marriage should be for the procreation and health of the race as well as for personal fulfillment.

Socialist scientists such as Lancelot Hogben and Julian Huxley similarly recognized the role of genetics in determining human behavior, and Julian Huxley (1941, p. 22) went so far as to state that "once the full implications of evolutionary biology are grasped, eugenics will inevitably become part of the religion of the future, or whatever complex of sentiments may in future take the place of organized religion." J.B.S. Haldane, who until Stalin's adoption of Lysenkoism, was actually a member of the Communist party, similarly observed that if human reproduction were separated from the mere sexual drive, mankind would be "free in an altogether other sense," since rational genetic selection could result in an advance in each generation in any single respect, from the increased output of first class music to the decreased convictions for theft.

Hermann J. Muller was the child of an American working man of German descent and a mother of U.K.-Jewish origin. His grandparents on both sides had been sympathetic to revolution and had migrated to America after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. Educated at Columbia University, he became a co-author of *The Mechanism of Mendelian Heredity*, published in 1915.

Subsequently, at the University of Texas he utilized X-rays to induce genetic mutations in *Drosophila*, becoming the first person to effect permanent germ line mutations in genetic material. For thousands of years men had been practicing eugenic selection among domestic animals, at first unconsciously and later consciously; but it was Hermann J. Muller who opened the door to modern genetic intervention in the germ line of living organisms. It was this achievement that won him the Nobel Prize.

By contrast, one might say that most conservative supporters of eugenics in his day were conservationists: they shared a commitment to the conservation of the natural environment as well as of the healthiest and most creative elements of the human biological heritage. Such was the case with men such as Madison Grant and Henry Fairfield Osborne, founders of the New York Zoological Society; Irving Fisher, chairman of Theodore Roosevelt's National Conservation Commission; James A. Harris, president of the American Society of Naturalists; Francis B. Sumner of the Save the Redwoods Society; Gifford Pinchot, professor of forestry at Yale after whom Mount Pinchot was named; Vernon Kellogg, zoologist and inventor of Kellogg's cornflakes; and Livingstone Farrand, president of Cornell and of the Central Committee of the Red Cross.

Similarly, in Britain the more conservative leaders of the early eugenics movement, such as Francis Galton and Leonard Darwin, might be said to have inherited the old Tory tradition of love of the soil and of the racial heritage of the nation. For this, they were derisively accused by their political opponents of being dedicated to "muck and mysticism."

Muller, however, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Communist dream who, like Haldane, only disassociated himself from the cause of the official Communist movement when it came under the domination of Joseph Stalin, who actively persecuted Mendelian geneticists in favor of Lysenkian pseudo-science.

Muller's eugenic creed found its clearest expression in his book *Out of the Night: A Biologist's View of the Future*² the very title

²*Out of the Night: A Biologist's View of the Future*, H.J. Muller, New York: Vanguard Press, 1935 (Unabridged reprint 2003, available from Scott-Townsend Press, Box 34070, Washington DC 20043)

of which reflected the core of his thinking. Natural selection, Muller realized, was a cruel way of discriminating between useful and harmful mutations. Through natural selection a species might improve its survival abilities generation by generation, but more importantly natural selection ensured that harmful mutations, which occurred with greater frequency than useful mutations, would not *in a natural environment* result in devolution rather than evolution, because close inbreeding caused them to reveal themselves in the phenotype, as a result of which they would be less likely to be passed on the future generations. Muller was concerned that a dysgenic trend had become common in contemporary advanced human societies, and wished to alert the general public to the potential disaster that was already threatening Western man. He saw this as related to a failure of leadership and education about biology and heredity:

The appalling paucity of concepts on the part of the average literary man of today, his blindness to the actual universe around him, is but one expression of the lack of education – or, more properly, of the miseducation of the public in general in regard to essentials. (1935, p. 32)

Lacking in intellectual leadership, his contemporaries had reacted, Muller concluded, to the newly revealed evidence that heredity controlled human destiny by shrinking back into a primitive attitude of refusing to face reality. The vast majority of people preferred to regard humanity as a special life form to which the laws of causality did not apply: The danger was that those who chose to ignore the significance of genetic science as applied to man thereby refused to acknowledge the responsibility of the present generation for the well-being of posterity, and instead chose to enshrine the worship of selfish individualism. To Muller, a scientific appreciation of the causal laws of heredity revealed that:

Any single individual life, lived for itself alone, becomes as insignificant and transient in this expanse as a mote of dissolving dust ... (1935, p. 33)

In other words, it is the lineage, the race, that is the true basis of life, not the individual. The individual is but one link in the intergenerational chain, even though a vital link. If the

individual fails to produce offspring, it disappears forever from the ongoing fount of life. The individual's importance lies in the fact that the character of future life forms is shaped by the disparate reproduction rates among living individuals – and between disparate breeding populations:

Another way in which lack of a very highly developed social impulse must in the end lead to the downfall of any civilization so afflicted lies in its biological undermining. For civilization affords an excellent chance to breed for many sorts of the weak, the stupid, and the vicious characters which are continually arising even among the “best” families. It might at first sight appear that this can lead to a situation little or not at all worse than that existing at present, so long as the sound and the superior also reproduce, mix with, and counterbalance the others; but this impression is erroneous and betrays insufficient understanding of the findings of modern genetics. The crux of the matter is that new mutations, though rare, are continually occurring, and cannot be prevented, and that, in any population whatever, the mutations which give rise to “defective” or “pathological” traits are relatively far more abundant than the “beneficial” mutations. We cannot, therefore, by any possibility escape the conclusion that the process of mutation will in time cause a gradual heaping up of undesirable traits of all sorts in any group of animals or plants, if individuals having the defective genes are allowed to multiply merely at the *same* rate as the others. One after another the remaining “normal” genes will themselves “go bad” through mutation, and then survive in their changed form. So long as this condition holds, then, a biological disorganization will take place, and will necessarily continue without limit, or until the species disappears. Actually, there are indications, that under civilization many traits that are detrimental to the species as a whole are propagated at a *faster* rate than the normal, so that the otherwise exceedingly slow biological degeneration is thereby hastened. This, when the increasing complexities of living are really calling for ever greater ability on the part of the group as a whole. (1935, p. 42)

Too many scholars, Muller warned, assumed that natural selection continued to operate within modern Western societies. In reality, natural selection has been largely repressed by

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modern technology and modern socio-cultural forces. These have removed civilized man from the natural conditions that shaped the lives of our ancestors, both human and pre-human. Even among those who accept the importance of natural selection as the basis of Darwinian evolution, there were many who assumed that Nature would ensure the well-being of future generations of man without any need for human intervention. But contemporary civilized human populations no longer benefit from the thorough and necessary impact of natural selection. Muller declared:

No doctrine is more mistaken than that natural selection, considered as Huxley's universal truism, "the survival of the fittest", must of necessity always tend to result in a given species becoming better and better adapted for its own survival (barring changes in the environment). There are various special circumstances – and civilization is the most notable instance – in which characters that give an individual "fitness" – in the sense of allowing him to multiply as much as or more than the others – are nevertheless deleterious to the species as a whole. Some such characters will spread through a population by the mere process of accumulation of mutations above described; others can multiply because, within that population, they do have a "survival value" or "reproductive value." Nevertheless, such characters prevent the multiplication of more individuals of the species than they foster. In such cases, the natural selection that operates between competing species eventually makes itself felt by reducing or wiping out the entire species so affected, and thus the "undesirable" characters do tend to become eliminated in the long run. But this "long run" might occupy geological periods. (1935, footnote p. 43)

In a state of nature, this problem of the accumulation of defective genes was often taken care of effectively by "natural selection": the strong man, the united tribe, more frequently won out, and the defective perished or failed to reproduce as abundantly. Natural selection of this primeval variety is today completely incompatible with happiness, sympathy, or civilization itself. The only adequate alternative to it, however, is some kind of thoroughgoing eugenics. (1935, p. 44)

These words bring home to us the contrast between the

intellectual climate of his day and that of our day. Any scholar who in the past few decades has dared to advocate "some kind of thoroughgoing eugenics" has been pilloried.³ But Muller continues with words that emphasize his socialist idealism – a socialism that is not inspired by the animosity that promotes the goals of class war, but by a true desire for social harmony in a united effort to ensure the well-being of future generations:

We use this term here not in its perverted modern sense – to which it constitutes a biological weapon of the reaction – but in its only true sense: the conscious social direction of human biological evolution. But, as we shall see later, there is no chance that the mighty wheels of true eugenics could be set into motion, and then moved effectively in the really up direction, except by a people thoroughly socially-minded, one willing to sacrifice something of the present for a far-seen common ideal, one cognizant of the necessity (for attaining power and happiness) of organized and active intelligence and sympathy, working in close partnership. (1935, p. 44)

And he follows this declaration with a sentence that should be enshrined forever in our minds:

Failing this, a biological deterioration of the human race seems to be inevitable, and this might even endanger the dominance of man as a species. (1935, p. 44)

Muller found his inspiration for deliberate intervention in the germ line of humanity to eliminate undesirable mutations in his successful intervention in the germ line of *Drosophila*. He points out that new breeds of plants have been created by mankind, and continues:

Now if the above is true of plants, it certainly holds for animals also. Though the possibilities here are doubtless economically less important, they will in the long run prove even more spectacular. This may be better realized when we consider that even the man of prescientific days succeeded, in the course of many generations, in fashioning the wolf and

³For further information concerning the denigration of scholars who have warned of the need for eugenic consideration in recent decades see *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe*, Roger Pearson, Introduction by Hans J. Eysenck, Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1991 And *Shockley on Eugenics and Race*, Ed. Roger Pearson, Introduction by Arthur Jensen, Scott-Townsend Publishers, Washington DC, 1992.

the jackal into such quite unrecognizable forms as the Great Dane, the Pekingese, the poodle, and the dachshund, and made similarly radical changes in various other beasts, birds, and even fish. If this was done in the past, what miracles of transfiguration should modern man not be able to accomplish with the aid of the science of genetics? It is true that the road is a long one. But in our genetics laboratories we have, by selective breeding and crossing of flies from one original ordinary type, obtained within one or two decades descendants which I would defy any layman to recognize as flies, and which would even make the most competent dipterologist scratch his head. And now, by the help of X-rays, we can attain the same results in the space of a few weeks. Flies breed much more quickly than mammals, but in their preparation they follow the same fundamental principles of heredity and variation. (1935, p. 76)

But within modern civilization, there is no longer elimination of harmful mutations by natural selection. In fact, by outbreeding, most societies are failing to eliminate harmful recessive genes at the rate they would have been eliminated in the closely inbreeding societies of earlier times. This creates a serious burden of what Muller called the "genetic load" – the burden of accumulating adverse mutations in the genome of civilized societies. While harmful genes that are dominant express themselves in the phenotype, and are consequently less likely to be passed on to future generations, harmful genes that are recessive only show themselves when combined with similar defective recessive genes, as happens more frequently in closely inbreeding societies. Since their effect is masked when combined with a healthy dominant gene, they are much more likely to be passed on from generation to generation when outbreeding occurs. In modern Western societies, individuals seldom interbreed with closely related persons, and so harmful recessive mutated genes tend to be masked by healthy genes. Instead of revealing themselves in the phenotype of offspring and thereby in natural conditions increasing the chance of being eliminated by selection (which prior to modern eugenic selection can only operate on the phenotype) outbreeding enables them to survive and slowly spread throughout the entire population. The result is a "genetic load" of harmful recessive genes affecting the entire society. While eventually they might

be eliminated as the load becomes too heavy, this will be a very slow and painful process if left to natural selection. In Muller's words:

deleterious mutations ... are gradually but surely accumulating in our germ plasm and ... are no longer removed by natural selection. With all our vaunted progress, then, without some effective application of genetics, we should face an ultimately disastrous process of internal deterioration ... (1935, p. 78)

As to the question of human racial differentiation, Muller acknowledged that this was real:

we may accordingly conclude that no small part of the pronounced and important differences which do so often exist between the temperaments of fraternal twins, and hence too of ordinary brothers or sisters in a family, are due to the different allotment of genes which they received from their parents. And if brothers are thus differentiated from one another by their heredity, unrelated persons in a population must, according to genetic reckoning, be thus differentiated to more than twice as great an extent. (1935, p. 94)

Biological, genetic differences also affect personality, he declared:

In mammals other than man, the absence of any significant complications due to tradition [Muller uses the term "tradition" in the sense that modern social scientists use the word "culture"] makes it possible to demonstrate more clearly in another way the great genetic differences in emotional tendencies to which the brain is subject. Thus the differences in proclivities and in disposition between a carnivorous solitary animal, such as a tiger, and a herbivorous social animal, such as a sheep, are proverbial, and also the psychological differences between animals of two somewhat more nearly related species, such as a cat and a dog, a sheep and a goat, a cow and a zebu. But even within a single species the evidence is entirely clear. Thus, the differences in emotional bias between different breeds of dogs are unmistakable and well recognized, e. g. , the nervousness, impulsiveness, and aggressiveness of the fox terriers, the persistence of the bull-dogs, the steadiness and calm reliability of the St. Bernards, the inhibitions of the pointers. Although

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there are also important individual differences in temperament between the members of any one breed of dogs, these large differences between the averages of the different breeds are more clearly hereditary, since the same general characteristics reappear in a given breed in all parts of the world, despite diverse rearing and conditions of life and the practical absence of tradition. (1935, p. 94-5)

Muller continues:

Hence the existence of the above hereditary differences in temperament (as well as in various aspects of intelligence) between races of animals gives further evidence of the existence, within each race, of hereditary individual differences of just the same kind even though the means might be lacking for ascertaining in concrete cases of individual differences, what part of the effects found were caused by these hereditary factors, and what part by environmental ones. And if these hereditary individual differences exist in higher animals, there can be no reason to doubt their existence in man also, despite the still greater difficulty of discrimination between hereditary and environmental effects in man, caused by the accumulation and extragenetic transmission of tradition (including the whole social superstructure). (1935, p. 95)

However, as indicated in the last sentence of the above passage, Muller personally believed that culture or "tradition" was of such overwhelming power that racial differences in personality were not significant. More modern evidence reveals that this question is still mute, and that to the extent that human populations may be genetically distinct from each other, they may also reveal significant group behavioral differences. Thus, in this one respect Muller remained very much in accord with contemporary leftist views as to the relative importance of Nurture versus Nature:

The warning must be stressed, however, that the alleged differences in temperament between different races of man do not furnish evidence for the same conclusion, owing to the importance of tradition in the formation of human attitudes and modes of behavior, and to the fact that certain traditional modes behavior may, like genes, become widely dispersed throughout virtually an entire race, clinging to it through

many vicissitudes of time and climate. (1935, p. 95)

Unfortunately, people have not proved to be as rational and responsive to the dysgenic threat as Muller believed they would be. He himself discovered this when Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Communist world for which Muller had so much sympathy, rejected Mendelian genetics in favor of the erroneous myths favored by Lysenko. Muller's faith in humanity, as expressed in the following paragraph, has so far proved to be misplaced:

There is room, then, for a genetic advance, not only in intelligence but also in the temperamental characteristics that make for cooperative behavior. And after the adoption of an overtly social ideal by society as a whole, and the changes in economics, ethics, education, etc., that bring this about, the urge will become irresistible to utilize all means of progress towards this ideal that may be physically available. Thus it will come to pass that the desirability and the possibility of the genetic as well as the "environmental" improvement of mankind will then for the first time receive adequate recognition. Man, in his state of greater enlightenment, power, and hope, will not wish to stop short of the best attainable, in genes as well as in other things; still less will he countenance the possibility of genetic degeneration. (1935, p. 102)

Muller's amazing perspicacity is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than when he turns his attention to the practical problem of effecting eugenic improvement. This is a problem that still haunts us. The idea of eugenics has received such bad publicity that it is almost automatically rejected by the less far-thinking members of our current intellectual world. The effects of this publicity are reinforced by two elements of profound importance in today's world: (a) the prevailing spirit of selfish individualism, expressed in its extreme form as libertarianism; and (b), its opposite, the misdirected altruism that causes generous-minded individuals to seek to promote the ability of the "less fit" to reproduce and pass their genes on to future generations. This altruism has resulted in a knee-jerk condemnation of eugenics as "selfish" when in fact it is precisely eugenics that represents a call upon our unselfishness for the good of those innumerable generations yet to be born.

Thus, eugenicists have in general been obliged to content

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themselves with the hope that, by informing others of the need for human intervention to replace natural selection where this is no longer effective, their words will fall upon receptive ears and result in a higher rate of reproduction among the more fit even if they cannot bring about a lower rate of reproduction among those who are genetically handicapped. But this is not working, and in the modern world it is precisely those who are more capable who have achieved a standard of living and career interests that discourage them from devoting time to the birthing and rearing of children. The introduction of talented women into the world of professional careers has accentuated the eugenic, one should properly say, dysgenic, crisis yet further. Muller foresaw this when he wrote:

But how can the projected improvement in our hereditary constitution be brought about? Among the eugenists of today it is customary to assume that the reproduction of the "fit" can be sufficiently encouraged simply by giving young people a better chance to choose their partners for life and by inculcating in them high ideals of their duty toward the coming generation. How foolish to believe that many of the "best" can really be duped into making living sacrifices of themselves, and into giving up most of what their own life has to offer, to make up for others who refuse to do their share! Under present conditions when ninety or more of the direct burden of the children falls on the mother, such a view on the part of the masculine members of the community is indeed explicable. The view would not be popular with them if the shoe were on the other foot. The intelligent woman, who can realize some of the opportunities that life may otherwise afford, will, it is to be hoped always refuse to make of herself either a queen-bee or a galley-slave ... On the part of a host of intelligent women, therefore, there is a growing strike against child-bearing ... Only by lightening the physiological, the psychological, the economic, and the social burdens on the mother now caused by child-bearing can we attain to a state in which real eugenics is feasible. (1935, p. 102)

Close to three-quarters of a century after Muller wrote these words, we have lived through a period during which the eugenic idealism which was inspired by concern for the welfare of the potentially unlimited number of generations of humankind yet to follow us as been denigrated and even medical science has

been used to promote the reproduction of those afflicted by genetic defects who would normally have been prevented from reproducing by natural selection. But as knowledge about the human genome progresses, it seems impossible not to believe that rationality will not result in the introduction of some form of humane eugenics. Medical men and women must surely come to realize that as a result of a mixture of kindly sympathy, misguided altruism, and the thrill of pitting their skills against nature, they are helping to ensure that genetic defects are passed on to new generations whenever they defeat natural selection through dysgenic intervention. The question that remains is that which Muller posed, how are we to ensure that those endowed with a more advantageous genetic heritage reproduce themselves in sufficient numbers to at least attain replacement levels. The answer clearly lies in developing inducements and socio-cultural conditions which will raise the currently declining birthrate amongst the more talented members of society, which humanely reducing the excessively high reproductive rate of the less capable. And beyond that there is a need to develop techniques of genetic surgery which will enable us to substitute healthy genes for deleterious genes in the germ line of otherwise talented and healthy individuals already affected by Muller's "genetic load." Only that way can we suppress the burden of deleterious genes that now permeates advanced human societies as a result of the dysgenic impact of contemporary socio-cultural conditions.

⁴ George Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman*, 1965, p. 159 London: Paul Hamlyn

² *Out of the Night: A Biologist's View of the Future*, H.J. Muller, New York: Vanguard Press, 1935 (Unabridged reprint 2003, available from Scott-Townsend Press, Box 34070, Washington DC 20043)

³ For further information concerning the denigration of scholars who have warned of the need for eugenic consideration in recent decades see *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe*, Roger Pearson, Introduction by Hans J. Eysenck, Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1991 And *Shockley on Eugenics and Race*, Ed. Roger Pearson, Introduction by Arthur Jensen, Scott-Townsend Publishers, Washington DC, 1992.

Hermann J. Muller's 1936 Letter to Stalin

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This is the full text of a 1936 letter sent by the American geneticist H.J. Muller to Joseph Stalin advocating the creation of a eugenic program in the USSR. It was rejected by Stalin in favor of lysenkoism.

Key words: eugenics, communism, Lysenkoist theory, liberal roots of eugenics movement, Jewish scholars, Hermann J. Muller, Joseph Stalin, Stalinist, purges.

Hermann Joseph Muller (1890-1967) received the Nobel Prize in 1946 for his work on the genetics of *drosophila*, whose brief generational life made it an ideal laboratory in miniature. Within a decade, however, following the discovery in 1953 of the double helical structure of DNA, *drosophila* studies began to be regarded as classical genetics and gave way to microbial and molecular genetics devoted to gene structure and function.

Muller looked upon his *drosophila* research as science to be applied to the genetic betterment of the human species. A popular misconception with regard to eugenics is that it was exclusively a product of political conservatism. In point of fact the movement had its roots in the left as much as in the right. Muller himself was a devoted communist and an idealistic believer in human rights. Bearing in mind that Jewish scholars played a significant role in the eugenics movement, it should not come as a surprise to find that Muller was Jewish on his mother's side. Indeed, he wrote a letter to Stalin on the subject of eugenics at the suggestion of the Russian-Jewish physician Solomon Levit, whose main interests lay in the field of genetics, especially in twin studies.

In 1932, Muller left the United States to pursue his scientific interests in five different countries. The period December 1934 until September 1937 was spent in Moscow, where he held the position of Senior geneticist at the Institute of Genetics of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences on the eve of the great purges. The invitation had come from the Russian geneticist Nikolai Vavilov, who himself perished in those terrible events.

In his 1936 letter to Stalin, Muller proposed a eugenic

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program. Evidently after receiving the letter, Stalin had Muller's book *Out of the Night* translated into Russian. A great believer in environmental egalitarianism, he began reading the work in 1937 and ordered that an attack be prepared on it and indeed on all of genetics, in favor of Trofim Lysenko's totally environmentalist neo-Lamarckian school of thought.

A frightened and depressed Muller asked Vavilov for a leave of absence to go abroad, but the very request was fraught with physical danger not only for him, but for his Russian colleagues and students as well. Vavilov proposed that Muller motivate his request by a desire to volunteer his services to the International Brigade in Spain and so join the struggle against Franco's fascism. He spent eight weeks in that country and then returned to Moscow to collect his belongings. The service in Spain cleared his name of the suspicion of having spoken against Lysenkoist theory, and he was able to leave the country with minimal damage to the reputation of his Russian colleagues.

With hindsight we cannot help but lean back in our armchairs to muse over Muller's conviction that direct intervention in the human genome was "idle fantasy, probably not realizable for thousands of years at least." Even so, animal breeders still depend almost exclusively on the "like breeds like" methodology practiced since pre-historic times.

Muller's letter is an enormously important historical text, and had it been received positively by one man it would undoubtedly have become one of the single most important documents of world history.

Readers who wish to inform themselves as to the details of his life and work are referred to Elof Alex Carlson's 457-page *Genes, Radiation, and Society: The Life and Work of H.J. Muller* (Cornell University Press, 1981).

To Comrade Joseph Stalin,
Secretary of the Communist Party,
of the U.S.S.R.,
The Kremlin, Moscow

Dear Comrade Stalin,

As a scientist with confidence in the ultimate Bolshevik triumph throughout all possible spheres of human endeavor, I come to you with a matter of vital importance arising out of my own science – biology, and, in particular, genetics. The matter is clearly such that it should be referred to you yourself, primarily. For, on the one hand, it involves such limitless potentialities of progress. And on the other hand the passing of judgment concerning it requires your farsighted view and your strength in the realistic use of dialectic thought.

The matter is none less than that of the conscious control of human biological evolution – that is, the control by man of the hereditary material lying at the basis of life in man himself. This is a development which bourgeois society has been quite unable to look squarely in the face. Its evasions and perversions of this matter are to be seen in the futile mouthings about “Eugenics” current in bourgeois “democracies,” and the vicious doctrine of “Race Purity” employed by the Nazis as a weapon in class war. These spurious proposals are offered as a substitute for socialism, i.e., as a decoy to mislead and divide workers as well as petit bourgeois.

In opposition to these bourgeois misconstructions, geneticists of the political left recognize that only a socialized economic system can provide the material basis and the social and ideological framework necessary for a really sound policy with regard to human genetics, for a policy which will guide human biological evolutions along socially desirable lines. They recognize further that sufficient biological knowledge and a sufficiently refined physical technique already exist for the production of very noteworthy results in this field even within the span of our own lifetimes. And they are aware that both the immediate and the ultimate possibilities of a biological kind thus opened up under socialism so far outdistance the

biological aims hitherto envisaged by bourgeois theorists as to make the latter appear quite ridiculous. True eugenics can only be a product of socialism, and will, like advances in physical technique, be one of the means used by the latter in the betterment of life.

Applicable in this connection is Marx's revolutionary dictum: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it." And likewise applicable here is your own recent call for scientists in general, which urges them to listen to the voice of practice, of experience, to be ready in the light of those to discard the traditional standards set by antiquated theorists, and to put each branch of science, to the utmost degree possible, to the service of the community.

Biology has found no evidence is support the ancient naïve belief that the physical frame of man, or his congenital mental and temperamental equipment and capacities, have reached any final stage, any divinely ordained suitability. They not yet come near to "perfection," whatever that may be supposed to mean, or to any physical limit of possibility.

Human nature is not immutable, or incapable of improvement, in a genetic any more than in a social sense. It is no idle fantasy that, by a combination of the favorable education and social material advantages which socialism can provide, on the one hand, with the scientific application of genetic knowledge, unhampered by bourgeois social and ideological fetters, on the other hand, it will be possible within only a few generations to bestow the gift even of so-called "genius" upon practically every individual in the population – in fact, to raise all the masses to the level at which now stand our most gifted individuals, those who are helping most to blaze new trails to life. And even this need be only the beginning.

Looking at the matter with a longer time view, it can be the beginning of a biological progression of hitherto unparalleled speed and sureness of objective, that passes from height to height. Such a progression will come as a result of the substitutions of conscious socialized control, founded on intelligent theory, in place of the accidental, wavering and

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painful processes of natural selection prevalent in the distant past, and in place of the shortsighted, blundering, and often deleterious interference with nature practiced by men in their pre-socialized stages.

In dealing with the problem before us, we must first consider certain known facts concerning the genes. The genes are ultra-microscopic particles, which constitute the material basis of life and are contained in the reproductive cells, and in fact in all the cells. All characteristics of living things, including man, depend upon two components: upon these genes which they contain, and which endow them with certain capabilities of developing and reacting, and upon environmental factors, including training, social setting, etc. , which determine how these potentialities of their genes shall be developed and realized.

Thus while the differences between civilized man and savage, and many lesser, commoner non-hereditary differences depend upon the environment, the differences between the "aumortic" idiot and the normal man, and many lesser, commoner, hereditary differences depend upon the genes. In the causation of any given difference between two persons, both sets of factors usually enter in to a significant degree, and cannot in practice be completely disentangled. And in the case of outstanding persons, so-called "geniuses," we can usually conclude safely that both the environment and the genes had been unusually conducive to a high development. The task of providing a favorable environment, taken in the most general sense, is that of social science, of socialism, in general. In the more special task of finding specifically favorable environments, adapted to the gene constitution of individual persons, genetic, in its role of detector of differences in the genes, has an important function to perform. Still more important, however, is its task of furnishing guidance in the actual provision of ever more suitable genes for the generations to come.

The science of genetics has made it clear that there is one means and only one whereby a worthwhile beginning may be made in the direction of providing more and favorable genes. This is not by directly changing the genes, but by bringing

about a relatively high rate of multiplication of the most valuable genes that can be found anywhere. For it is not possible artificially to change the genes themselves in any particular, specified directions. The idea that this can be done is an idle fantasy, probably not realizable for thousands of years at least.

Certainly, the usual environmental influences that affect the body or mind of the individual, such as education, better nourishment, etc. , although they are extremely important in their effects on the individual himself, do not result in improvements or in any definite kinds of changes, of the genes within and so the generations following such "treatment" start in with the same capacities as their forefathers. Genes can, to be sure, be changed by certain drastic means such as x-rays, but these changes are brought about in a random fashion, the product more usually being harmful. And as random changes also occur to some extent without any interferences on our part, there is little use in our attempting to produce them so long as enough products of natural change are already in existence. As a result of the accumulation of these random natural changes through thousands of years, every species of organism, including man, has become a great repository of hundreds, even thousands, of different genes, that lie scattered about in any population. These result in the existence of inheritable inequalities, which were of course recognized by Marx.

Without producing further changes of the genes, then, remarkable results can be accomplished merely by multiplying and gathering together the best of these scattered genes wherever they can be found, and recombining them into as highly superior groupings and possible, This is the method of selection, the only efficacious method of biological progression, but one which, under the conditions of nature, involves that ruthless struggle for existence, even between members or groups of the same species, from which we are now successfully escaping. Abolishing this natural selection, however, we are now enabled to substitute for it a far more effective conscious method, that at the same time avoids the objectionable features of natural selection and proceeds with much greater speed and certainty.

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The process by which such biological progression may be accomplished artificially, with the minimum disturbance of personal lives, is by allowing all people who wish to take part in the production of children that have the best genetic equipment obtainable, to obtain appropriate reproductive material, for use by artificial insemination. No doubt this method would first of all be sought after by women who for some reason been forced by circumstances to remain unmarried. Statistics show that there are regions having a considerable excess of female population, women who never have had a chance to marry and probably will never have this chance.

In part this was caused by war and by migration, and in part is due to a higher "natural" rate of death of males in most communities. And in communities with equal number of the two sexes a good many women remain, for one reason or another, single. Most of these numerous women are quite normal in respect to their biological capability for motherhood, and their desire for it. Under modern social conditions is the USSR, where so much is done to aid in the work of bearing and rearing children, many of these women would no doubt be glad to become mothers, especially if they could do so without incurring any personal gossip or suspicion, in a way that was recognized as thoroughly acceptable socially, and if the opportunity was at the same time afforded to them of having children with an unusually high chance of being gifted and desirable. The same would also apply to many widows and to many wives of sterile husbands. Certain extra concessions or aid might be extended in such cases. The production of children on the part of such women by this means of artificial insemination has in fact been carried out successfully for some years by a number of doctors being especially popular in Uzbekistan, where it is practiced by Doctor Shorokhova.

It should be realized that the process of artificial insemination in itself involves no sexual action by the individual, nor does it hinder his exercise of his own normal relations of love and sexual fulfillment, which continue as usual along with such birth control as may be desirable. This artificial insemination could also be resorted to by married couples desiring children of unusually high genetic equipment, without the love relations

of the partners to one another being intruded upon. It is hence to be expected that eventually there would be many couples who, absorbing a new and higher standard of social ethics, and even envious of the success of their spinster neighbors, would wish in this way to add to their family a "half adopted" child that had the promise of being especially desirable, of whom they might come to feel especially proud.

In this connection it should be observed that there is no natural law which rules that a person instinctively wants and loves exactly the product of his own sperm and egg. He naturally loves, and feels as his, that child with whom he has been associated and who is dependent upon and loves him, and whom in its helplessness, he has taken care of and brought up. Primitive man, who did not possess the idea of the child coming from his sperm or egg and did not even comprehend that it was fertilization that resulted in children, loved his children just the same, as studies on some primitive tribes of today have shown. Often, in fact, the established custom was for the real, physical father not to play the social part of parent to the child, the role being delegated instead to some other male who acted as the child's devoted parent.

True we have today, rooted in traditions from the bourgeois society in our past, the idea that our child must be derived from our own reproductive cells. And it would not be wise violently to offend the feelings which have through long established custom become connected with this idea. These feelings should be utilized to further the end of reproduction and no one should be told he must set contrary to them. But with the gradual growth of understanding of the great social possibilities and duties of reproduction, and of the separability of reproduction from the sexual act, these feelings will more and more tend to become replaced by others equally strong and effective in furthering a high type of family life.

These feelings would rest upon a higher and increasingly strong basis of morality: that morality in which the individual finds his greatest satisfaction in the consciousness of being instrumental in making an especially valuable contribution to society. Conducive also to his satisfaction in this case would be the direct joy of raising as his own a child who is felt to be

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especially admirable. Thus family life, in continuing, would tend to rise to an even higher level than before, and the love of the partners would tend to become even further cemented by their common devotion to their especially inspiring and gladsome social task. And it may be anticipated that there would be a strong tendency to increase in the birth rate as a result of the additional incentive to reproduction arising from this opportunity of having children who are especially gifted, lovable, vigorous, or otherwise desirable, and the having of whom is regarded as a special honor to their parents. This increase, moreover, would take place predominantly in those sections of the community having a more highly developed social consciousness, and hence likely to exert an especially salutary influence on the developing child.

As genetics shows, the passing on to a child of any particular genes present in the parents is in any individual case is a certain degree a matter of accident, but this accident is limited and governed by definite laws which enable us to say that the child of a highly endowed individual has a far higher chance than the average to receive a considerable part at least of his endowment.

This by no means implies that nearly all the children will be superior. But, grouping all such cases together, if one of the parents has an exceptionally high endowment in respect to some desired traits of intellect, temperament, or physique, his children will on the average stand half-way in their hereditary equipment between his high level and the general average. And it is quite possible, by means of the technique of artificial insemination which has been developed in this country, to use for such purposes the reproductive material of the most transcendently superior individuals, of the one in 50,000 or the one in 100,000, since this technique makes possible a multiplication of more than 50,000 times.

In this way, even considering that the children stand, on the average, only half-way, and vary greatly because of the role of accident, a very considerable step can be made even within a single generation. And the character of this step would in fact begin to be evident after only a few years, for by that time many children have already developed enough to be distinctly

recognizable as backward or advanced. After 20 years, there should already be very noteworthy results accruing to the benefit of the nation. And if at time capitalism still exists beyond our borders, this vital wealth in our youthful cadres, already strong through social and environmental means, but then supplemented even by the means of genetics, could not fail to be of very considerable advantage for our side. Now by making step after step in this way, through several generation, a level is soon reached by great numbers which correspond with that of the genetically best equipped individuals of today or which, by combining the varied gifts of the latter, in sum total even surpasses them. And this in turn supplies a kind of genetic tonic, as it were, a vitalizing element that diffuses out to mix with the whole population.

In the above way the most valuable genes become greatly multiplied, and have a chance to enter into still better combinations. At the same time the population as a whole reproduces itself and eventually reaps the advantage of absorbing and coming into combination with these valuable genes. The heredity of the ordinary person in succeeding generations does not die out, but it is given even more valuable additions and is thus enabled to find expression in a fuller, greater life. For the hereditary composition of a given individual is never inherited as an indivisible whole, but its elementary parts, its genes, always become dispersed, singled and recombined with others as the generations succeed one another.

All the above represents quite the antithesis of the "Race Purification" and so-called "Eugenics" of the Nazis and their kin, who set up artificial hierarchies of races and of classes, branding as inferior those whom capitalism wishes to oppress, and brandishing against them the knife of sterilization, or restriction. The social way, on the other hand, is positive, and works for a surplus reproduction that combines the highest endowments of every race, as found in a classless society. It does not force invidious comparisons between one man and his neighbor, because the genetic material which it disseminates for purely voluntary use is derived from sources so exceptional that virtually all would gladly recognize its outstanding worth. Many a mother of tomorrow, freed of the fetters of religious

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superstitions, will be proud to mingle her germ plasm with that of a Lenin or a Darwin, and to contribute to society a child partaking of his biological attributes.

When individual differences become as great as these, every one recognizes them, and to act upon this recognition is but to be realists and to unite our theory with our practice. It is especially important that our practice to right in this field, for what material is as important to us as our human material? And it will be acknowledged that in deciding the production of children, the chief interests are the interests of the children themselves, and of the children's children. Theirs is the need, to which we should give in proportion to our own ability. Thus it is the duty of the present generation to see that the next is provided with the best obtainable genetic equipment, as well as with the highest physical technique and social structure which we can bequeath to them.

Looking at the matter in its historical and pre-historical perspective, we see that the grand march of biological evolution, which, through a thousand million years, carried life from microbe to man, was propelled by the forces of accidental variation and natural selection, as Darwin first showed, and as modern genetics have demonstrated much more clearly. This process produced great results, but it is in its essence cruel and painful, and most species, as well as most individuals, are eventually sacrificed on the altar of "trial and error."

After man had thus managed to develop to his present biological stage, his intelligence, coupled with his social traits, allowed an accumulation of tradition, accompanied by a social evolution following its own laws. These were economic and social laws, as shown by Marx and Engels. Now the circumstances thus endangered by man's social evolution introduced conditions which acted to hinder the further operation of natural selection, i. e., man succeeded in escaping in part from this cruel harness. Accordingly, too, his biological evolution tended to come to a halt and in some respects he probably even became weaker biologically.

All the great pageant of barbarism and subsequent civilization, of man's advance in historical times in knowledge, technique,

organization, etc. has, as is well known, been a progress purely economic and social in its basis, i.e., the purely biological equipment of primitive man, though far from "perfect," was already equal to that of the civilized man of today.

At the present day, under socialism, a turning point of social evolution has been reached, where we can for the first time really look ahead, and where we suddenly see new and endless vistas of social evolution opening up, even without any further advance in the basis of man's biological nature, i.e., in his hereditary equipment, being necessary for this continued progression. But at the same time, there no longer remains any need why human advance should be limited to any one set of methods. For it now becomes possible, for the first time, for it to proceed in all directions at once, even in the biological direction. That is, the development of the social organization, through those laws that are peculiar to economic and social change, has led us by dialectic transgression to a stage of development allowing a new type of interaction of the social upon the biological,

In this stage it becomes possible to begin a conscious social control not only over social evolution as such, but, through it, over biological evolution also. Considering the enormous results achieved by natural biological evolution in the past, the potential value of a biological method of progression cannot be doubted. But the biological progression must occur not as the reactionaries would have it, by turning back the wheels of social evolution and by reintroducing processes like those of natural selection, from which man has managed with so much pain to escape, it must occur by introduction of a new and higher artificial technique, one which will help to guide reproduction positively, humanely, and consciously, in the interests of society, of man himself.

Thus will biological evolution again be resumed, this time in the service of social evolution, and it will take its place alongside the improvement of physical technique, of inanimate machines as one of the means employed in the furtherance of social evolution.

The above, in brief, is what appears to me to be the dialectic

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view of the relations between biological and social evolution, and a real Bolshevik attack upon the matter will be based on the full recognition of these relations. In view of the immediately impending rise of discussion on matters relating to genetics it is important that the position of Soviet genetics on this subject should soon be clear. It should have its own standpoint, the positive, Bolshevik standpoint, to set against the so-called "Race Purification" and perverted "Eugenics" doctrines of the Nazis and their allies on the one hand and against the "laissez faire" and "go slow" doctrines of the despairing liberals on the other hand. Most liberals take an attitude of practical hopelessness and impotence with regard to human biological evolution, declaring that little or nothing can be done. This is in line with their political individualism and hopelessness. And even some communists, lacking a sufficient biological background, or influenced by liberal thought, have drifted to the pessimistic liberal position.

The positive, or, as I should like to term it, the "Bolshevik" view above outlined has recently been presented by me in a book, "Out of the Night" in which more details are developed than could be given above. Supporting this view is a group of some of the ablest geneticists of the world today. All of them are, in contrast to the geneticists of the two other camps, men of the political left, strong sympathizers with the Soviet Union. Friends of the cause of communism are in general rallying to their side, as shown by the favorable review of the above book in such communist controlled publications as the "Daily Worker" (New York), the "New Masses," and the "Book Union," and even in such mildly leftist publications as the "New Republic." We hope that you will wish to take this view under favorable consideration and will eventually find it feasible to have it put, in some measure at least, to a preliminary test of practice. For our science of genetics, with its great potentialities for man, should not remain on the side, but, like other sciences, should take its place dynamically and effectively within the great central stream of socialist development. Thus will the October Revolution have proved to be a turning point not only in social organization, in the development of physical technique and in the conquest of man over inanimate nature, but it will ever be remembered also as the turning point in that long story of biological evolution which, in the past million

millennia, has carried life forward so far, and yet so slowly, with so much waste, suffering and false trials. Banishing false gods, man, organized under socialism, must boldly assume the role of creator, conquering with Bolshevik enthusiasm even that most impregnable fortress which holds the key to his own inner being.

Hopelessly outdistanced even in this field, which they had falsely claimed to be peculiarly their own, the bourgeois and fascist nations would stand truly confounded, voicing impotent phrases of dismay. On the other hand, as the above quoted reviews indicate, the advance guard of the workers in these countries will be stirred by their realization of these profound possibilities of even biological progress being brought into actuality by socialism. Thus will they receive a still greater stimulus and encouragement in their contemplation of the all-inclusive character of the progress occurring here.

There are of course many important points of principle and practice involved in these proposals for which the present letter did not have space. Some of these are taken up in the book above mentioned, of which I am sending you a copy separately. I should be glad to go into any further details on these subjects, if that would be desired.

With deep respect,
In a brotherly spirit,

H. J. Muller
Senior geneticist of the Institute of Genetics
of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow,
Member of the National Academy of Sciences
of the United States,
Member of the Foreign Academy of Sciences
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May 5, 1936

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The text of the letter was made available courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, and is published with the permission of Helen J. Muller, H.J.M.'s daughter. The heading and closing are given in reverse translation from the Russian, the text of which was found in the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation (Folio 3, Opus 30, No. 67, pp. 1-17). The Russian version was published by the Russian physicist Yuri Vavilov, Nikolai Vavilov's son. The Russian version appeared in the journal *Voprosy istorii estestvoznaniya i tekhniki* (History of Science and Technology), 1971, No. 1, with an introduction by the Russian geneticist Il'ya Zakharov. Margherita Candeloro assisted in transferring the text to electronic form.

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The Controversial Teachings of Steven Jay Gould

H. F. Mataré¹

Malibu, California

The author examines the views of the much publicized late S. J. Gould and condemns the extent to which Gould allowed his far left political convictions to influence his writings. Gould claimed that science could not be separated from the socio-cultural environment, but the present author rejects this as an anti-science view, exposing the flawed logic employed by Gould when the latter rejected the possibility of objective science.

Key words: S. J. Gould, philosophy of science, political correctness, IQ, reality of race differences.

The death of the paleontologist and biologist Steven Jay Gould last year has been followed by a number of laudatory reports concerning his manifold publications.

As a Harvard professor he made himself well known not only by his numerous popular writings but also by frequent invitations to participate in public debates, even with creationists.

While he was clearly an evolutionist, he failed to profess a truly scientific view of organic nature and man's place in it. Two of his writings in particular show how his views on biology and evolution were intertwined with a program of "political correctness".

One must of course note that Gould was born of Jewish parents who emigrated from a Polish ghetto into Germany, and thence to the United States. Consequently, his early impressions from childhood might well have left him with a strong feeling against racial discrimination. Whenever human development is discussed, he separates it totally from other normal biological functions and evolutionary processes. His oft-quoted contribution to the theory of evolution – punctuated equilibrium, meaning simply that sudden environmental changes can bring about abrupt, non-gradual form changes which seem to disrupt the gradual flow of evolutionary development – was not really original. It has always been obvious that a sudden environmental change could cause a variation in

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the rate of mutations. As J. Monod showed in *Le Hasard et la Necessité*, external selective forces create the possibility for a directed, mutational change, or in other words, where constant mutations are directed into a particular preference of direction due to natural, selective environmental pressure. This basis for change, recognized since Darwin, has been reinforced by a multitude of research results. Rapid changes in external conditions that affect the survival chances of specific living organisms can result in rapid selective adaptations favoring particular properties.

One can find such sudden changes in specific plant or animal forms. This, however, does not basically change Darwin's rule for evolutionary change. Gould wrote especially about the Cambrian explosion, 600 Million years ago, when rather suddenly in the earth's history multi-celled, hard-bodied creatures populated the seas, giving rise to the most diverse and complex animal forms. Most of these died out, and only a few gave rise to the animal kingdom of today, man included. (Gould, 1989)

But while he wrote about accepted evolutionary theory in textbooks like *The Age of Mammals*, Gould's main ideas are to be found in two particular publications, namely his book *The Mismeasure of Man* (Gould, 1981/2000) and an article in *Science* (Gould, 2000) dated January 14, 2000, written two years before his death. In these we find a curious mixture of accepted ideas about modern science and a political testament that is quite foreign to what modern science is all about. Indeed, his book *The Mismeasure of Man* is actually a confused concoction of topics dealing mainly with his identification of racial groups and above all his criticism of older methods and theories concerning IQ-testing and the assumed 2:1 nature/nurture dichotomy. In particular he attempts to discredit physical anthropology by describing in detail early research into craniology and craniometry, as if by discrediting these earlier endeavors he could repudiate totally more modern research into the biological differences between human individuals and races.

Conclusions concerning differences in human capabilities are blamed by Gould for supporting the concept of "inferior races." IQ-testing and the classification of inherently different levels of mental comprehension in particular have been attached by Gould. He declares that he wrote *The Mismeasure of*

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Man precisely because "biological determinism is rising in popularity. " This is in itself an astounding statement coming from a scholar who regards himself as a biologist and paleontologist.

Gould then proceeds to discuss physiognomies of races and skull forms. He quotes Thomas Jefferson's remarks about the inferiority of the black races. He states that he does this in order to show how normal it was to assume racial ranking during the 18th and 19th centuries. He also quotes Darwin's remark that the distance between man and chimpanzees will increase with time.

Gould attacks Agassiz, his predecessor at Harvard, who had come to America from Switzerland in 1840, quoting him as saying that he felt uncomfortable and embarrassed in the presence of black personnel. Agassiz, Gould complains, had warned against interbreeding between whites and blacks, saying that such miscegenation would diminish the capability of the former, and had asked how the United States would maintain its status among progressive nations if this were to occur. Gould further quotes from the *Christian Examiner* of 1850, which reported Agassiz as saying that he "dismisses as demagogues both the divines who would outlaw him as an infidel and the abolitionists who would brand him as a defender of slavery" when he argued that blacks should be trained for hand work while whites should be trained for mind work.

All this is quoted, Gould says, to warn that such advocacy of social policy, "couched" as a dispassionate inquiry into scientific facts, is not moribund today. Gould then proceeds to the scientific methods of that time, when skull measurements and size differences were tabulated, and ridicules the racial ranking introduced by the distinguished scientist and physician Samuel Morton. Gould exhibits a constant pattern of ignoring all and any differences between human beings, on the assumption that the equality of all men is a basic tenet to be accepted by everyone. He rejects Morton's finding that the Egyptian skull collection shows racial differences between the higher class and the servants, who more closely matched the racial type of the inhabitants who lived to the South of Egypt, and who are shown in Egyptian wall paintings that survive to this day being transported down the Nile by their racially more Caucasoid Egyptian captors. In a claim that has been adopted by many who

seek to re-write history, Gould points out that some marginal sub-societies of that time had blacks as their rulers, as was the case at times in Nubia, but does not mention that there they were rulers among their racial kin.

Gould ridicules in particular the measurements of skull volume by Morton, which were obtained by filling the cranial cavity with sifted white mustard seed (later with lead shot), and then pouring the seed back into a graduated cylinder, reading the skull's volume in cubic inches. It is well known that human skull volume has increased or that brain size has grown from 175 cc in the Macaque, to 500 cc in the Gorilla, to 1050 cc in *Homo erectus*, to around 1500 cc in Cro-Magnon, at which level it remains for the more developed races of today.

Gould cites the tables Morton obtained for head size (in inches as they were measured at that time) which Morton's research produced, claiming that there was not much difference between the German and English average of 90 cubic inches and the lowest value of 80 cubic inches as recorded for Hottentots and Peruvians. As a biologist, Gould should have known that this measure does not deliver a valuable parameter for research on intellectual capabilities. When he wrote this book, brain research had already advanced decisively. It had become clear that the relatively small differences in volume cannot really tell us much about capabilities or character. It was known already that the human brain has many different compartments for different activities, the side lobes contributing in particular to logical thought. It was also known that the neocortex carries an enormous number of branching connections between the different brain compartments and that their development has a multitude of potential interconnections. The fact that there is a high number of neurons to start with (around 10 million), and that each neuron connects to axons and dendrites for further interconnections in the order of another billion, shows that differences in human brain activity and potential are enormous and cannot be measured effectively by the volume of the cranium with its simplified overall values. Today, brain research is beginning to decipher the local activity centers and their interconnections by electroencephalography and brain current and magnetic imaging testing and transcranial magnetic stimulation

While Gould attempted to discredit any research into the

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biological basis of differences in human personality by attempting to ridicule very early research into such differences, he must have known that modern research methods will eventually show the extent to which brain activity is linked to particular genetic imprints, just as all aspects of human biology start from given sets of genetic programming, originating in diverse patterns of evolutionary selection. Life history may affect the development and expression of innate personality, but it is certain that it is the genetic imprint that decides the limits of such possibilities. The oft-alleged "infinite malleability" of the human brain is a naïve concept. One cannot train elephants to fly a plane. In the near future we will be able to differentiate between capable brain structures and those of more primitive design. Gould writes at length about the statistical error in the old brain-size tests, and concludes that all these size tests do not have any meaning. A glance at a modern brain research journal could have shown him that detailed features of human brains are so multifold that the enormous differences between individual thought functions require certainly also a genetic variance in the neuronal interconnections.

For instance, the speed of communication between neurons depends on the ionicity of the conducting channels which can be very different in different peoples, depending on the genetically given body chemistry. Gould discusses at length Morton's error in classifying cranial capacities, because Morton failed to make an allowance for body size. So, Gould mocks that elephants with larger brains than humans should be more intelligent. Gould meticulously recalculates the given brain sizes, considering the person's height and concludes that also women's brains are equal to men's brains when adjusted for body size.

As we have mentioned, all this is beside the point because only detailed brain research with modern means will ultimately provide real insight into the enormous variations in the myriad of neuronal connections.

Furthermore, Gould discusses the results by the Virginia physician Robert Bennet Bean who compared the relations between the front part of the corpus callosum and the length of the splenium. In a plot of genu (of the corpus callosum) versus splenium he found that whites have a larger genu – more brain up front, the seat of rational behavior. His conclusion was that

blacks made good artisans but that they lacked comparable stability of character, incident to lack of self-control, especially in connection with their sexual activities. This was explained by a large posterior part of the brain while the whole anterior portion is small. Gould contrasted these measurements with tests by Franklin P. Mall, Bean's mentor at John Hopkins, who did not find these differences. In a lengthy discussion of Paul Broca and his school in Paris, Gould describes how differences in opinion during the years from 1861 to the turn of the century appeared in the published papers.

He concludes that all of the difference in brain size that was measured gave a self-deceptive simple picture of the brain-mass with its structural subdivisions, as shown by the American anatomist E.A. Spitzka. These of course show, aside from a larger size, a much more subtle structure in, for example, Gauss' brain than in Gambetta's brain or the one of a famous anatomist (Altmann). But Gould dismisses these differences of a much more richly convoluted brain of Gauss' compared to the others as without importance. Instead, he describes lengthy cases where black brains were extra large.

In a general judgment about all brain research, Gould concludes that "trying to set a biological value upon groups ... is irrelevant, intellectually unsound and highly injurious." The British psychologist H.J. Eysenck sought to find the difference between black and white in neoteny, which means the longer retention of youth characteristics in white children as compared to black children. This also accounts for a longer brain development, as the closure of the suture is delayed. But Gould dismisses these facts and says that in a "racist" society blacks simply lack early education.

On the question of criminal anthropology, Gould tries to show that all attempts to decipher bodily features in terms of criminal proclivities are useless. As far as the death penalty is concerned, he negates the need for the elimination even of killers against whom all social cures "break as against a rock"-and rejects the correlation between carriers of XYY sex genes and criminality, as found in prison inmates at a much higher percentage than normal persons. Gould believes that measures of heritability within groups cannot be applied to differences in heritability between groups. Certainly, the genetic composition of a group can change due to the effects of selection, but that

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does not mean that inherent genetic variation between groups can be extinguished in the absence of selection.

The IQ-Question

After a lengthy description of the first conclusions about heritability of feeble-mindedness made by H.H. Goddard, who believed that mental deficiency would be governed by simple Mendelian principles, Gould delights in exposing these early conclusions that were made around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He also rejects Goddard's assertion that morons cannot control their own sexual urges, asserting snidely that he does not believe that "immorality and stupidity are inexorably linked"; but it is not clear why Gould feels particularly offended by Goddard's and Terman's intelligence tests, based on the famous French method developed by Binet. Gould only needed to look at the intelligence level of the growing number of modern prison inmates, which incidentally represents a heavy financial burden for California, where the cost of maintaining the prison population surpasses the total budget of all schools in the State, including all universities.

It is well known that drug addiction and teenage crime are closely linked to the multiplication of low-intelligence groups. Gould, however, tries to put the blame on those like Cox and Terman who wanted to identify feeble-mindedness by IQ-testing. He condemns the "Army Mental tests" at great length as degrading, and in particular attacks Sir Cyril Burt who wrote extensively about the results of tests on monozygotic twins reared apart. Burt showed that there were striking behavioral similarities across the whole lifetime of such twins, a fact now well established and confirmed by many similar tests. But Gould emphasizes only certain inconsistencies in Burt's data, and charges Burt with basing his work on unsubstantiated data, even though Burt's conclusions have since been replicated by others. He also makes the irrelevant charge that factor analysis was not developed by Burt, having been introduced by Charles Spearman as "Spearman's g ," which is the first principal component of the correlation matrix of mental tests.

The concept of IQ as a measure of g records innate, general intelligence, very much independent of the cultural surroundings. In fact, much of IQ tests is connected with the speed of reaction and combinatory insight. Racial differences

appear especially clearly in IQ tests, which are particularly dependent on reaction speed and give a picture of the ion conduction in the brain from one neuron to the other by the branching axons and dendrites. That means that there are certainly genetic factors involved.

But Gould simply rejects all IQ differences, and therefore even rejects the results of IQ tests conducted on twins. Among the numerous scholars who have studied the IQ of twins, the work of Arthur Jensen is perhaps the best known. He did considerable work to correlate the g-factor with many life-variables of different types of test persons (Jensen, 1984). He found that the value of IQ is a much more reliable, statistical predictor of delinquency than is the socioeconomic status independent of IQ.

It is astonishing that Gould as a biologist does not recognize the basic function of the inherited structure and capacity of the brain. If he would have looked at any one of the recent brain research reports, he could have found that it is not the size as the major parameter, but the efficiency of the synaptic interconnections in the cortex, that defines the speed for the interneuron activation through the dendrites. These millions of dendrites have a high density of voltage-gated sodium, and potassium channels. How fast the action potentials propagate – i.e., how fast a conclusion from exterior impressions or pictures can be drawn – is a function of the inborn chemistry or ionicity of the conducting channels in the cortex, a genetically defined property. Thus the g-factor is correlated with racially given variations, as has been tested repeatedly. (Herrnstein-Murray, Jensen, etc.)

Most significant is Gould's conclusion at the end of his book. He points out how science has made progress since the Mendelians attributed feeble-mindedness to one particular gene. He also thinks that new species split off from old ones, who still survive. In other words, we may assume that, e.g., the Rhodesian Man split off from *Homo erectus* and lived contemporaneously to *Homo sapiens*. But this is anathema to the equality of all living races so fundamental to "political correctness." In pointing out that *Homo sapiens* is only 10,000 to 100,000 years old and that we all share 98% of the genes, Gould forgets that 98% of some 10 million genes still means a difference of a major number of genes. Thus we find a huge amount of variation (group and

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individual), not to mention the enormous variation possible in the human brain structure with 10 million neurons per cc and their varied dendrites and axon connections, going into the billions. Here, thought connections can display the enormous variety due to the interplay between frontal lobes and lower brain parts where instinctive and motor senses are located. Gould calls cultural evolution the fastest "Lamarckian Mode," a discredited theory which held that acquired characteristics could be inherited while in the Darwinian evolution genetic variation must first be available for natural selection to be effective. It is astonishing that Gould, as a biologist, neglects the importance of biology when he concludes that "most behavioral difference between groups has no genetic basis." He thereby negates biosociology, or sociobiology, of the E.O. Wilson type. What is left of the influence of biology, according to Gould? While animals change substantially in form during their lifetime, he thinks that man remains more or less an embryo. At the end of the book Gould describes the case of a woman who had been sterilized because of mental retardation, and had been told that the operation was for a rupture or hernia, and who later said she wanted to have children. He seems to think that this well-publicized case in some way proves his theory of the biological equality of all humans. He offers no comment as to the fate of a society that multiplies from the lowest echelon and offers no thoughts about the future of humanity on a planet with limited carrying capacity.

**Gould's Article "Deconstructing the 'Science War'
by Reconstructing an Old Mold" 2000**

In this featured article under the heading "Pathways to Discovery," the author tries hard to find a common ground for the different poles of humanists and social scientists on the one side and fact and natural scientists on the other. We are presented with Gould's view of "science as human creativity," and his claim that we cannot accept it as fact, and that science must be seen in its social context. The conclusions reached in scientific research, he claims, are influenced by the persons doing the research. We are reminded that we might even know more about the universe today if Fifteenth Century China had conquered the Occident as well, an assumption that misses the

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point that science as a study of nature with constant experiment, checking and re-checking, of theory and experiment was missing in China in spite of early inventions like the wire-telephone, the wind-mill, gunpowder, etc.

In summary, the author asks for an accord between the humanities and science to eliminate what he calls a false dichotomy. He seeks to accomplish this by a put-down of science, as though it is nothing more than a cultural reflex. For this he starts with an analysis of the Renaissance, which as we know was inspired by a re-discovery of the achievements of classical Greece, and represented a rebirth from the dark Middle Ages, with its rigid religious cults. Under Catholic Christianity, any study of the human body was sacrilege, as were Galileo's and Copernicus' conclusions concerning the earth as a moving planet. Similarly, in art the Renaissance defines the transition from stationary, unrealistic, religious pictures to nature-adapted perspective drawings (consider those of Duerer) which are realistic representations. But he puts down Bacon's *Novum Organum*, which advocated experimental observations and logical, mathematical explanations, vilifying Bacon's work and speaking of "Bacon's dubious and wholly undeserved reputation." (p 254)

Gould further alleges that most working scientists are naive about the history of their discipline and therefore overly susceptible to the lure of what he calls "objectivist mythology." To break the dichotomy of social and scientific points of view, science is characterized as "tedious and boring, expensive and frustrating. It is also defined by Gould as "hostile to ordinary thought." One wonders at reading such words in a journal dedicated to science.

When speaking about the *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Gould speaks about a "myth of science." He does not think that science functions on account of pure objectivity, but that social impediments lie too deeply and ineradicably within humans to warrant any ideal of pure objectivity. In other words, Gould does not believe in the possibility of any purely factual finding or outcome of experiment and calculation. But if we were right, all of humanity's progress in natural science and technology would be, in his own words, "unrealistic, unreliable or even false." Gould is unjust to say that it is a myth that science is a method of pure observation and reason, divorced from all

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gutsy and sloppy forms of human mentality. We would not have any of the results that have changed mankind so fundamentally if "gutsy and sloppy" thinking were normal in science. As an example of the "false dichotomy of objective realism versus social constructionism" Gould recalls an old discussion of natural fossils that resembled human genitalia. The description of these stones, some 300 years back, used the words hysteroliths (womb stones), as no clear origin could be established. To use this example of a false deduction made three hundred years ago as evidence of the unreliability of modern science shows actually the total disconnect of the author from science.

Gould believes that "concepts which we regard as factually established and free of social bias will no doubt be seen to be just as bizarre to our successors as the inorganic theory of hysteroliths strikes us today." How foreign is such a thought to science if one considers, for instance, Maxwell's equations, their importance for wireless communications or Einstein's theory of relativity, or Newton's theory of gravitation or Kepler's laws of planet movements, etc. There is no "social bias" in any of these, they truly represent steps in the advance of scientific understanding, on which subsequent understanding can be developed.

Gould thus speaks of a "science war" between scientists seeking an absolute external truth and relativists who pursue the social analysis of science, believing that all claims of truth represent only social constructions and are unrelated to factual reality. Finally, he recommends a socially embedded science accessible to ordinary thought and feeling instead of the objectivist's myth "that can only generate indifference." There is to be found here no understanding of the deeper-lying causes of the so-called dichotomy that arises out of the human society's spiritual limitations when science breaks new ground and heretofore unknown facts are elaborated. This breaking of new ground has occurred, for instance, by the work of Darwin (1959), Haldane (1975), Monod (1970), Wilson, Loomis (1988), Riedl (1984), Cairns-Smith (1982), S.A. Kauffman (1993) and many others.

Certainly one cannot expect that the uneducated public will accept immediately all consequences of a forward-moving science when old and ingrained beliefs and thinking have to change. It is, however, in the spirit of the Renaissance that

humanity as a whole is not rejecting the attempts of science to understand nature despite the temptation to hold on to primitive, deeply established cultural and religious beliefs. After all, our whole technical development, including modern medicine, agriculture, flight, communications and computing owe their existence to the principle of experiment plus analytical thought. Maxwell analyzed Faraday's magneto-electric laws and coined the field theory, the origin of wireless communications, practically verified by H. Hertz. Bohr and Heisenberg, Dirac and others elaborated quantum physics as fundamental to the structure of matter, promising improved and even faster communications. Einstein found a solution to the matter-radiation problem, with nuclear energy as one outcome, and Watson-Crick's DNA-structure model started the understanding of the genetic code of all life.

If there is a "social aversion" to such progress and its consequences, it can only be eliminated by education. "Socializing science" cannot mean repudiating the search for objectivity, as Gould desires: it can only mean that we have to ensure a better-educated public.

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Conceptual Issues in Prohibiting "Hate Speech"

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"Hate speech," variously defined, is now prohibited in several countries and – despite the U.S. Supreme Court's sweeping support for free speech – is the subject of campus speech codes on many American university campuses. The author is among those who see the prohibition as a threat to serious scholarship in particular and freedom of speech in general. Unless "hate speech" is defined narrowly as virtually equivalent to what the U.S. Supreme Court calls "fighting words," he maintains, it is a concept that is in a number of ways profoundly flawed.

Key words: Hate speech, hate literature, prohibited speech, scholarly freedom, freedom of speech, censorship.

The widespread prohibition in recent years of "hate speech" and "hate literature" is so fraught with ambiguities, intellectual shallowness, and double standards that it poses a serious impediment to scholarship and to the values of an open society. The United States, with its Supreme Court that has long championed the strongest possible affirmation of the freedom of speech, is a notable exception to what elsewhere has been a powerful trend toward the punishment of certain forms of expression. This article will explore several aspects of the "hate speech" issue:

- . Some leading examples of its use against scholarly endeavor;
- . the varied definitions of "hate speech";
- . the legislation and speech codes prohibiting it; and
- . the category's many conceptual difficulties, which include:
 - . a failure to comprehend the vast extent of, and justifications for, human animosities;
 - . the extent to which the world Left has made the concept a weapon against competing ideas; and
 - . a wide assortment of other intellectual failures that flow from both the concept and its application.

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1. Use of the "Hate Speech" Concept is Against Serious Scholarship

A little over a half-century ago, the world intellectual community was outraged when Stalin's Soviet Union made science an instrument of ideology. In 1948 the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences endorsed the theory formulated by biologist Trofim D. Lysenko that an organism passes environmentally-acquired properties on to the next generation. All teaching of Mendel's theory of heredity-only-through-genes was thereafter suppressed in the Soviet Union until more than a decade after the death of Stalin in 1953. Mendel's genetic insights were denounced as "bourgeois science."

The "Lysenko Affair," as it came to be known, scandalized the scientific world. The inconsistency of such an ideological manipulation of scientific inquiry with the nature of science as an on-going inquiry into facts and their implications, conducted in good faith and with strict honesty, was widely understood.

Today, in contrast, we find that broad areas of inquiry are sealed off from even the most objective and careful study. With regard to those areas, ideology, backed by the prohibiting powers of the state, reigns supreme. In the circumstances of today's world, there is no international outcry against the censorship. In its place, there exists a near-universal desire to conform thought to what respectable opinion considers ideologically acceptable (euphemistically known as "politically correct"). Given such a milieu throughout the Western world, today's threat to scholarship and true science is far greater than it was in Lysenko's day.

This was brought home forcefully to the author by a personal experience. I wrote a legal studies monograph, *Lynching: History and Analysis*² – only to see Canada ban it as "hate propaganda." I was attracted to the subject of lynching twenty years ago while doing the background reading for my history of liberal thought.³ The research involved reading, among many other things, all issues of *The New Republic* (except one three-month volume that was missing from the shelves) from the time of the journal's inception in 1914 until early

² Dwight D. Murphey, *Lynching – History and Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies Monograph Series, Vol. 24, 1995).

³ Dwight D. Murphey, *Liberalism in Contemporary America* (McLean, Virginia: Council for Social & Economic Studies, 1992).

1985.

I added the subject of lynching to my list of topics to research in the future when I found some surprising facts. One was that *The New Republic* ran an annual editorial until the mid-1930s recounting the number of lynchings in the United States, but that the editorials stopped because by that time lynching had virtually disappeared from American life. This ran counter to my impression that significant lynching had continued until it was beaten back by the Civil Rights Movement after World War II. I was also surprised to find that lynching had not been confined to the South, but instead took place throughout the United States. Further, its victims had by no means all been black.

Whether I achieved an objective study of lynching is best judged by readers who peruse the entire monograph.⁴ I found that there is a "conventional wisdom" about the subject that is simply not supported by the facts. It is alleged, for example, that lynching is unique to American society, born out of Americans' putative inclination toward violence; but the facts show that lynchings have occurred throughout the world. There were a reported 500 lynch-mob executions in Brazil in 1991 alone.

And, as counter-intuitive as it may seem to those conditioned by today's perceptions, the history reveals as fallacious the charge that "lynching was Southern whites' way of suppressing blacks." What the author found was that lynching has been the way frontier communities (including those in a frontier-like South after the Civil War) have reacted to outrages when those communities have felt themselves free from constraints imposed by a broader polity. Black leaders themselves, such as W.E.B. DuBois, acknowledged that the post-bellum South was confronted with a significant criminal element among its black population, an element that committed acts of extreme cruelty. At a time when people in the West and even the North were hanging their desperadoes, it is, I reasoned, far more sensible to explain the lynchings in the South by relating them to communities' response to the high crime rate among blacks than to lay it at the doorstep of "Southern racism."

These and other views stated in the monograph run counter,

⁴ The entire monograph is now available to all readers on the following Web site: www.dwightmurphy-collectedwritings.info

of course, to “politically correct” thinking. Just the same, the monograph contains a reasoned and in no sense malevolent analysis of historical records. Whether it is correct is subject to debate. Canada, however, has not permitted that debate. A representative of the Canadian ambassador to the United States confirmed to me that “as we understand, Customs prohibited the entry into Canada of a copy of your monograph that an individual was attempting to import because, taken as a whole, it was considered to incite hatred against an identifiable group in Canada.”

What is significant about this for purposes of the present article is that the category of “hate propaganda” was used against a work of serious scholarship. This is especially significant today because Americans’ image of their past has been placed in issue by the “culture war” in which virtually every aspect of their past is asserted to have been depraved.

Nor is my monograph the only intellectual product that has been barred from the postal service in Canada. Its Customs are particularly sensitive to any “politically incorrect” discussion of immigration or of race. *Will America Drown? Immigration and the Third World Population Explosion* (Humphrey Dalton, 1993) has been banned. Although William Shockley was an eminent scientist as a co-inventor of the transistor and a Nobel Laureate, the book of quotations from Shockley’s writings entitled *Shockley on Eugenics and Race*⁵, with an introduction by the renowned Berkley psychologist Arthur Jensen is also on the prohibited list. Even a collection of quotations from the published writings of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, selected by his son Archibald Roosevelt who also wrote the Introduction,⁶ is on the prohibited list and is liable to be seized by Canadian Customs, despite its historical merit and the fact that it reflects the views not only of that well-known President but of a wide swathe of the American public at that time.

Accordingly, if people in otherwise-open societies condone the prohibition of “hate speech” because they think it relates only to egregious and salacious outpourings of bigotry, they don’t fully appreciate the sweep of the prohibitions and of their

⁵ *Shockley on Eugenics and Race*, R. Pearson, Washington, D.C. : Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1992

⁶ *Theodore Roosevelt on Race, Riots, Immigration, and Crime*, Editor J.W. Jamieson, Scott-Townsend Publishers: Washington DC

potential abuse against legitimate inquiry. What is most at issue is objective, careful scholarship.

While Americans' memory of their past is vastly important, there are other areas of scholarship and scientific research, also very important, that are today barred from discussion. If, say, one studies "global warming," one finds much ballyhoo and fakery in the predominant literature. Those whose findings disagree with what is ideologically acceptable are largely shouted down or ignored.⁷

There is a taboo, often enforced with violence, against those who wish to study in even the most careful scientific manner intelligence, genetics, and racial characteristics.⁸ These studies are especially significant to public policy, because they often challenge the premise that certain ethnic groups are "victims of the majority society." It is a mistake to think that "only neo-Nazis study those subjects"; despite the taboo, those areas have continued to be studied by scientists of high standing who have no affinity to Nazism.

Most readers will be aware that there are, in addition, persistent taboos against the study of certain major issues of modern history, where the officially sanctioned versions are not permitted to be questioned. In an age that prides itself on openness and on scientific inquiry, myth and propaganda prevail.

2. The Concept of "Hate Speech"

The author of this article has read many of the recent books, law review articles and Web publications on "hate speech."⁹ It

⁷ For illustrations of this ideological skewing, see the author's article, "Global Warming: A Lysenko-Like Challenge to the World Scientific Community," *Conservative Review*, March/April 1996, pp. 4-7.

⁸ For several striking examples of how this taboo has been applied against scholars, see Roger Pearson's *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe*, Washington, D.C.: Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1991.

⁹ Prominent among these, from widely varied points of view, are Samuel Walker, *Hate Speech: The History of an American Controversy* (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1994); Milton Heumann and Thomas W. Church, ed.s, *Hate Speech on Campus* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997); Ralph D. Clifford, ed., *Cybercrime* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2001); Janine S. Hiller and Ronnie Cohen, *Internet Law & Policy* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2002); Sionaidh Douglas-Scott, "The Hatefulness of Protected Speech: A Comparison of European and American Approaches," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, February 1999, p. 305; Negin Salimipour, "Notes and Comments: The Challenge of Regulating Hate and Offensive Speech on the Internet," 8 *Southwestern Journal of Law and Trade in the Americas* 395, 2001/2002; "Religion, Free Expression and 'Hate Speech,'" *American*

will be instructive to see how those sources define "hate speech." As we do so, let us note some of the conceptual problems in the definitions, even though much of the remainder of this article will also be devoted to conceptual flaws.

One source says "hate speech...can be defined as extremely offensive personal insults and characterizations that are directed against an individual's or group's race, religion, ethnic origin, gender, or sexual preference, and which may incite violence, hatred, or discrimination."¹⁰

This definition is more or less typical, although there are often variations in the list ("race, religion...") that is included. Several things stand out about the definition just quoted:

The definition would in no reasonable application extend to the serious scholarly work we have mentioned above, since it limits itself to "extremely offensive personal insults and characterizations." This would encompass the "fighting words" that might occur in a barroom or in a demagogue's speech, but not reflective intellectual work.

The definition contains several words that are so ambiguous that they can be stretched or compressed at will. "Offensive," "directed against," "hatred," and "discrimination" have variations of meaning; but notice especially the ambiguity of "extremely" and, most particularly, of "may." In American law, a punitive statute that is ambiguous is unconstitutional for several reasons: it gives wide discretionary power to the prosecutor and the trier of fact; it is conducive to double standards in application, something that lends itself to unequal justice and political abuse; and it doesn't adequately place individuals on notice, either before they act or as they defend themselves, of what is lawful and what is not.

The litany of "race, religion, ethnic origin, gender, or sexual preference" must be understood as ideological, reflecting the Left's championing, since World War II, of a number of

Atheist Forum, July 30, 2001 (www.americanatheist.org/forum); "Hate Speech from the Left," *Capitalism Magazine*, January 26, 2001 (www.capitalismmagazine.com); William Jasper, "Politically Correct Hate Speech," *The New American*, July 8, 2002 (www.thenewamerican.com); David Goldstone and Betty-ellen Shave, "Essay: International Dimensions of Crimes in Cyberspace," *Fordham International Law Journal*, June 1999, p. 1924.

¹⁰ Dan Rud and Nick Sexton, "Hate Speech Defined," www.unc.edu/courses/law357c (1999).

unassimilated or disaffected groups against the main society. Before World War II, the Left's primary focus was on championing the "proletariat," at which time it spoke of "exploitation" as society's central problem. When for a number of reasons that emphasis was given up, the alienated intellectual culture that lies at the heart of the Left sought other allies against the predominant culture in Europe and America. Most of the ideological developments of the past half century can be best understood as the elaboration of superstructures of ideas to champion those "outsider" groups. "Victimization" has taken the place of "exploitation" as the central concept; and much of the world is seen as the victim of Western civilization in general and the United States in particular.

It should be noted that very few such litanies include "class" hatred. The list is geared only to what the Left cares about, even though millions were executed in the name of "class struggle" during the twentieth century. This reflects the ideological double standard that persists to this day between the much-perceived abuses of "the Right" and the profoundly ignored abuses of "the Left."

Special attention should be given to the idea of the words' being "directed against" someone. Another source's definition speaks of "language that is targeted..."¹¹ Again, this relates most appropriately to rabble-rouser speech; i.e., to "fighting words." To say, as Canadian Customs says about the monograph analyzing the history of lynching, and as German and French courts do about the research that questions aspects of the Holocaust, that the ideas are "targeted" against someone is to commit a major logical fallacy. It falls within the realm of the "material fallacies" whereby attention is focused not on the validity of, and support for, an idea, but on extraneous factors. The material fallacies include such things as appeals to pity, to force, or to whether the proponent of an idea is likeable. When seriously proposed ideas are taken to be "directed against" someone, the argument is personalized. With the context shifted, the idea can be written off without ever having reached a discussion of its merit.

¹¹ Interview with Dr. Timothy Jay, "Hate Speech: Words that Hurt," www.safe-learning.com/0101jay.shtml (2000).

The argument that ideas such as research into the Holocaust are "verbally aggressive acts hurtful to many people"¹² is a similar personalization that locks the research into a compartment where it is no longer necessary to consider its merit. There are times when the uttering of words is properly considered, in fact, the commission of an act, such as when one person tells another "don't go near my daughter or I'll shoot you." But this must be kept in its proper context. The transformation of scholarly inquiry into "an act" is singularly anti-intellectual.

It is especially important to realize this in connection with the drive against "hate speech." The drive acquires an outer sheen of legitimacy from the fact that no decent person wants the civility and peaceful relations that should exist among people to be destroyed by slurs and insults. But the drive against "hate speech" goes well beyond that. The relatively new concept of "political correctness" arises from the general European and American acquiescence in the Left's worldview and in the Left's insistence (*a la* Herbert Marcuse) that its outlook is the only one that deserves moral standing to be heard.

We reach, then, a paradox. If legitimate reflection and research can be wiped away without considering their merit, is this not in itself precisely a manifestation of "hate" against the person who is attempting a civilized discourse? Those who study intelligence, say, have suffered many violent assaults. Is the researcher the "hater"? Or is it not, rather, the persons who will bloody his head to keep his results from being heard?

The paradox that those who seek to silence speech may be the "haters" was illustrated in 2001 when the "American Indian Movement of Colorado" opposed the commemoration of Columbus Day. A spokesman for the movement wrote a Denver paper speaking of "Christopher Columbus, a man personally responsible for the genocide and enslavement of Native Americans, and *a hated symbol for Native Americans.*" At the same time, the letter urged people to see "*the 'celebration' of Columbus for what it is: hate speech...*"¹³ (emphasis added). We see that the spokesman first expressed hatred and then charged those who

¹² Sionaidh Douglas-Scott, "The Hatefulness of Protected Speech: A Comparison of the American and European Approaches," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, February 1999, p. 333.

¹³ "Transform Columbus Day," www.transformcolumbusday.org/lettermc1.htm (2001).

celebrate Columbus Day with being haters.

Although this may seem a paradox, it relates to our later discussion of the fact that there are many deeply-felt animosities in the world, often quite well-founded; and that it should not be surprising to find emotions strong on both sides of a contested issue.

3. The Legislation and Speech Codes

This article is intended mainly to discuss the conceptual issues raised by the category of "hate speech." It would side-track us too greatly to examine extensively the specifics of the prohibitions. In what follows, they will be reviewed only to the extent needed to "flesh out" the existence of such censorship. The review will be valuable because unless the concrete reality of such prohibitions is grasped, the discussion may seem purely academic.

Prohibitions against "racism" and "xenophobia." These come from multiple sources, which include but are by no means limited to: the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*; the *International Convention on Civil and Political Rights*; the European Union's "Action Plan Against Racism"; Part III of the *Public Order Act of 1986 in the United Kingdom*; the *Human Rights Act* in British Columbia; Section 319(2) of the *Canadian Criminal Code*; Section 13(1) of the *Canadian Human Rights Act*; and in the United States, it is said, "a number of colleges and universities decided to restrict hate speech and adopted codes of student conduct penalizing forms of expression based on race, gender, religion, marital status, sexual preference, and physical capacity."¹⁴ We are told that "as many as 70 percent of the more than 3,500 institutions of higher learning in America may have some sort of code designed to place restrictions on speech deemed offensive."¹⁵

Prohibitions against opposing immigration. In a case arising in the Netherlands, the European Commission on Human Rights upheld a "conviction for inciting racial discrimination by urging the removal of immigrants from the Netherlands."¹⁶

¹⁴ Samuel Walker, *Hate Speech: The History of an American Controversy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), p. 6.

¹⁵ Milton Heumann and Thomas W. Church, *Hate Speech on Campus* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), p. 3.

¹⁶ Douglas-Scott, "The Hatefulness ...," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, p. 341.

Prohibitions against criticizing homosexuality. By a close vote in June 2002, "Swedish lawmakers approved a constitutional amendment that bans speech and printed materials opposing homosexual lifestyles."¹⁷ The amendment was to be voted on again three months later.

Prohibitions against "denial of genocide," "excusal of crimes against humanity," and "holocaust denial." The Fabius-Gaysot law in France, enacted in 1990, declares it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as they were found to have occurred by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal in 1945-6. Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain and Switzerland have followed suit.¹⁸ In 1999, there were other laws in Israel, The Netherlands, Poland, and Lithuania outlawing skepticism about the Holocaust.¹⁹ The Austrian law has made it illegal to "deny, grossly play down, approve of, or seek to justify..." genocidal acts by the Nazis.²⁰

4. Conceptual Problems:

A Selective Dip into a World of Endless Animosities

We have already commented, and will see further in the next section, that many of the "hate speech" proscriptions are selective, reflecting the Left's worldview. That is a reason for objection, of course, but before we examine that more deeply it is worth considering what even a non-selective ban on any articulation of "hate" would entail.

Civilization would not exist if there were not an enormous amount of cooperation, orderly competition, civility, friendship, affection, and constructive building. At the same time, the world is one in which there are countless animosities, many intensely felt. It is naive to think, as much current ideology suggests in its blatant reductionism, that the great bulk of this feeling is gratuitous, based on ill-informed racial or ethnic stereotypes. Rather, it arises from many sources.

An especially significant source is conflicting perceptions of outrages mutually inflicted, sometimes in what seems infinite regress, by one group upon another. Imagine having seen your

¹⁷ *Middle American News*, September 2002, p. 11, citing a report from Focus on the Family.

¹⁸ *The Journal of Historical Review*, March/April 1998, p. 14.

¹⁹ *The Journal of Historical Review*, March/April 1999, p. 31.

²⁰ *The Journal of Historical Review*, September/October 1995, p. 30.

mother or brother's arms hacked off by a machete. Would the rage against those who did that ever leave you? We see the dimensions of this rage when we recall that in just the recent past there have been 500,000 to 800,000 killed in Rwanda, more than a million and a half in The Sudan, 30,000 to 50,000 in Tajikistan, 70,000 to 80,000 in Algeria...and that just starts the list. Thirty million people are reported (belatedly by Public Television in the United States) to have been starved to death by Mao under his insane "Great Leap Forward." It is too much to imagine that the rage does not burn within the souls of the survivors. We are aware of that continuing anguish and rage among the "survivors of the Holocaust" because of the on-going dramatization given to their pain, but we need to understand that there are hundreds of millions of others in the world who feel every bit as much rage.

Nor is it just rage over horrors committed. Behind those horrors lie conflicting ideologies, religions, myths, interests and cultures – all supported by a complex web of ideas. What we need to note about this is that these teeming ideas are the very stuff from which the more important issues within human discourse are formed. When we consider that "open societies" value "freedom of speech," what we should most especially keep in mind is the speech that deals with the things about which people feel most deeply. Discourse is often about things that are in no sense trivial. To characterize large segments of that discourse as "hate speech" is not only to militate strongly against the "freedom of speech," but is to attempt the impossible, baling water from the ocean.

It is true that constructive building among human beings requires eventually transcending rage about wrongs, actual and perceived; and mental health requires a great deal of "forgetting and forgiving." Someone seeking to act as a peacekeeper will tend to take the view that the adversaries "should get over it." But to demand that is often to demand more than human beings are able to give. And to say that the feelings may not be expressed is presumptuous almost beyond belief.

A mentality that is so naive about the complexities of the world that it would attempt that presumptuousness is reminiscent of the mentality that produced the Kellogg-Briand Pact after World War I outlawing aggressive war. The assumption was that the world had reached a *stasis* in which all

would agree, throughout the world, that existing boundaries and politics were just, to be changed over the millennia only by mutual agreement. The root of this is arguably an incredible ignorance of the world as it is, and a smug moral self-assurance that admits of no dissent.

If conflicting human animosities and aspirations constitute, as we may well think they do, a virtual “ocean” from which the prohibition of “hate literature” seeks to eliminate certain selected species of fish, it should be apparent that this inherently invokes double standards; which is to say, “selective enforcement.” That is the stuff from which further injustice, hatred and political-ideological abuse is made.

5. The “Hate Speech” Category’s

One-sided Invocation of the Worldview of the Left

Dr. Timothy Jay, a psychology professor at Massachusetts College, endorses the concept of “hate speech,” but tells us this about its origins: “The idea of hate speech has developed since the ‘60s and ‘70s – it’s come from the civil rights movement, the women’s movement, the gay and lesbian movement –”²¹ This shows clearly the origin of the idea in the Left, in its various permutations championing a number of “victimized” groups. Of course, we have seen that the leftist-inspired taboos go somewhat further than Jay’s examples may suggest, extending to such things as the study of intelligence and genetics.

It was Herbert Marcuse during the 1960s who gave what is perhaps the most extensive rationale for a leftist control over speech. In his essay on “Repressive Tolerance,” he argued in direct opposition to John Stuart Mill’s concept of an “open marketplace of ideas.” Marcuse said that a democratic society’s “tolerance” of competing views simply constitutes a manipulative device by which the masses are lulled to sleep. He called for a “liberating tolerance” that would encourage all views from the Left and suppress all conservative expression. “Liberating tolerance,” he wrote, “would mean *intolerance against movements from the Right, and toleration of movements from the Left*” (emphasis added).²²

²¹ An interview with Dr. Timothy Jay, “Hate Speech: Words that Hurt,” www.safe-learning.com (2002).

²² Herbert Marcuse, essay entitled “Repressive Tolerance” in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 109.

If one considers the typical professional person within what Samuel Francis calls today's "ruling class" (a person who intuitively gives no intimation that he does anything other than agree fully with everything that is "politically correct"), it is doubtful whether that person is specifically conscious of Marcuse's rationale. But it is the weight of that "ruling class," which lies heavily over all opinion in Europe and America (and peoples of European origin elsewhere) that has become the primary "enforcer" of Marcuse's formula. We live in a time of very strong taboos. Virtually no breathing room is given to those who dissent from the prevailing ethos.

And yet, the "politically correct" perception of things reverses this. It sees the mainstream middle-class culture as the suffocating element; it isn't non-Left dissenters who are repressed, it is "minorities." This is the "conventional wisdom" that takes no account of the ideological incubus that today dictates what is and is not acceptable opinion. In his 1999 article in the *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Sionaidh Douglas-Scott exemplified this when he wrote that "Middle America is large and secure, whereas minority groups are small in number, and often vulnerable." Later in his article, he said that "society must attempt to ensure that its more powerful elements, particularly those with greater access to the media, do not dominate, shout down, or silence weaker but possibly truer voices."²³ This may be a good prescription in a theory devoid of context, but typically he fails to see who is shouting down whom.

We should not leave this section – on the leftist bias behind much of the "hate speech" concept – without noticing some illustrations of how the Left allows itself to voice much vituperation, applying a double standard that frowns on some "hate" but relishes the expression of other animosities, however intense. In the *City Journal* published by the Manhattan Institute, Brian Anderson has written that "the insults most often come from the left: 'racist,' 'homophobe,' 'sexist.'...It has become a habit of left-liberal political argument to... redefine mainstream conservative arguments as extremism and bigotry."²⁴

²³ Sionaidh Douglas-Scott, "The Hatefulness of Protected Speech: A Comparison of the American and European Approaches," *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, February 1999, pp. 317, 336.

²⁴ Quoted by Jeff Jacoby in "Hate Speech from the Left," *Capitalism Magazine*, January 26, 2001.

Phil Brennan of NewsMax.com cites examples given by CBS newsman Bernard Goldberg in Goldberg's book *Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distort the News*. One example tells of "PBS's ultra-left-wing Nina Totenberg's" saying about conservative U.S. Senator Jesse Helms: "[I]f there is retributive justice [Sen. Jesse Helms] will get AIDS from a transfusion, or one of his grandchildren will get it." Another example quotes "*USA Today's* Julianne Malveaux's" comment about conservative U.S. Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas: "I hope his wife feeds him lots of eggs and butter and he dies early like many black men do, of heart disease." And it was *Los Angeles Times* contributor Karen Grigsby Bates, Goldberg tells us, who said this about Republican Senate majority leader Trent Lott: "Whenever I hear Trent Lott speak, I immediately think of nooses decorating trees. Big trees, with black bodies swinging from the business end of nooses."²⁵

These examples are significant because they illustrate the extent to which the "hate speech" concept lends itself to ideological, political double standards. This destroys its legitimacy as an objective concept.

6. Other Conceptual Problems in the "Hate Speech" Idea

The "hate speech" category is on such shaky ground that it gives rise to a number of other conceptual problems:

1. Libertarian author Pierre Lemieux says "Canadians have been hearing more and more calls to use hate laws in linguistic or ethnic politics – for instance, against Mordecai Richler's anti-Quebecer statements." He points to the "slippery slope" of ever-degrading rights, saying "hate speech" will "soon be extended to cover 'crimes' its original designers never dreamt of." He points to the underlying reason it is a slippery slope: "Parchment barriers' [such as a constitutional guarantee of free speech] are incapable of stopping the tyrants *once public opinion does not believe in individual liberty*" (emphasis added).²⁶
2. Lemieux makes another salient point: Instead of leading to improved civility and respect for each other's rights and

²⁵ Phil Brennan, "Goldberg Exposes Fellow Liberals' Hate Speech," NewsMax.com, January 3, 2002.

²⁶ Pierre Lemieux, "In Defense of Hate Literature (Sort Of)," www.pierrelemieux.org (Fall 1994).

dignity, as the "hate speech law" proponents think they will, the prohibitions run afoul of one of the recurrent facts of history, that "censorship... is one of the surest ways to victimization, political confrontation, intolerance, and violence."²⁷

3. The literature contains many instances of the term "hate speech" being used without any reflection at all. These authors sense no problem of delineation in a world of intense animosities and no problem of ideological misuse of the concept. They simply accept the category at face value.
4. Sionaidh Douglas-Scott cites the argument that "free speech as a means sometimes must yield when autonomy and respect for personality are supported better by its restriction, as the German judgments illustrate."²⁸ But consider this: What if giving official sanction to one side's version of a major world conflict actually shields a propagandistic construct fashioned out of gross exaggerations? Would that not be, in itself, an almost unspeakable attack on the personality and dignity of millions of people, whom the exaggerations would be declaring utterly befouled? To know whose "personality and dignity" is impaired requires a judgment about the merits of the argument. But an objective judgment is made impossible where only one side of the argument is allowed to be heard.
5. The literature on "hate speech" is a fertile source of nonsense in a variety of forms. Consider the statement in one law review article that "freedom of expression enjoys the status of customary international law and is universally protected as such."²⁹ One wonders about the naivete of such an observation. Consider, too, the strangely perverse emphasis by the same author: "Since the September 11 tragedy at the World Trade Center, a new stigma towards 'potential terrorists' has spread the seed of hate and discrimination towards Middle-East Muslims."³⁰ Might it not

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Sionaidh Douglas-Scott, "The Hatefulness ...", p. 338.

²⁹ Negin Salimipour, "Notes and Comments: The Challenge of Regulating Hate and Offensive Speech on the Internet," 8 *Southwestern Journal of Law and Trade in the Americas*, p. 395, et. seq.

³⁰ Ibid.

rather be thought that the killing of 3,000 people in multiple terrorist attacks might elicit some comment running in the other direction; i.e., about the "hate" that the terrorists felt toward their victims? The author's concern is purely selective, taking advantage of the "victimization of minorities" perception about American society.

7. The Intellectual Imperatives of an Open Society

There have been many "closed" or "insular" societies during human history. Many of these have had much to contribute to the richness of the human experience. We can think, for example, of the values and institutions championed by Samuel Johnson in the eighteenth century when he saw merit in social hierarchy and the prohibition of expression that would subvert the existing order. He was essentially championing the medieval system that was on its way out.

The ideal of a free or open society differs markedly from those more "organic" cultures. To this ideal, individual freedom is central, and this includes scholarly and scientific freedom. Great dynamism, and the satisfaction of much that is humane, is thought to flow from the openness. It is from this perspective that scientists will be outraged by the forced imposition of Lysenkoism, even when it appears in a closed society. Our review of the flaws in the notion of "hate speech" has reflected that point of view.

At the same time, however, even a free society, as a social order, is based on a number of preconditions and cannot be "existentially open," as much libertarian thought seems to think it can be. It requires an elaborate foundation of law, morals, acculturations, institutions and values, all directed toward establishing and safeguarding the realm of personal freedom.

The result is that there is, even in a free society, a tension between freedom and order, unless perhaps they are rationalized into an overall system that is understood as accommodating both. This is a very delicate matter, and seems to require more subtlety and conceptual clarity than humanity is wont to give.

The United States Supreme Court has been a primary fount of what is called the "maximalist" view of free speech. One would think that, in light of the analysis made in this article, the author would fully endorse that maximalist position. The

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difficulty, however, is that even a free society must protect itself, while simultaneously affirming the fullest possible realm of open expression. Most recently, the Court has held that any regulation of speech must be "content neutral";³¹ and before that, it held that the abstract advocacy of violence and even revolution could not be banned, since such advocacy had not arrived at the point of actual "incitement."³²

I would suggest that such positions are appropriate only to a free society that faces no serious threats to its existence. When the *Yates* decision in 1957 held that membership in the the Communist Party could not be made illegal because the Party was engaged only in the abstract advocacy of revolution, it failed entirely to appreciate the context of a nuclear-armed Soviet Union and a worldwide Communist movement. If there had been a world war, an organization engaged in "abstract advocacy" would have been rapidly available for far more than abstract discourse. The distance between advocacy and action must be measured with discernment, realistically considering the imperatives of the society. Under other, more benign, circumstances, "abstract advocacy" may well be protected without danger. "Content neutrality" likewise ought not to be a timeless absolute, but must be considered in the context of circumstances.

The difficulty is that anything short of a naive maximalism exposes the society to the sort of charade that Canada is engaged in: a constitutional guarantee of "the freedom of speech,; but with exceptions that are applied in a way that militates even against serious scholarship.

The matter is not subject to easy resolution, since a mature and sensible balance is so elusive. One thing is sure: an appropriate resolution will not come unless the dross of ideological and conceptual self-deception is cleared away. That has been an aspiration of this article. Additionally, there must be a fully conscious appreciation of the value of open discourse and especially of honest scholarship. We are far removed from such an appreciation in the world today.

³¹ *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992).

³² *Whitney v. California*, 274 U.S. 357 (1927); *Yates v. U.S.*, 254 U.S. 298 (1957); *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444 (1969).

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Book Review

Stranger in the Nest

David B. Cohen

John Wiley and Sons Ltd John Wiley & Sons Inc, 1999,
ISBN: 0471319228

Where do children's (and adults) personality, intelligence and character come from? Many questions of social policy, such as the origins and cures for poverty, depend on this question. Other questions anthropologists care about, such as how much can differences in cultural rearing patterns affect children's behavior (and hence their behavior when they become adults) depend on this. Thus, this is more than a book about parenting.

How often do parents, having tried to raise the perfect child, one that reflects their values and goals, find that they have a "Stranger in the Nest", a child that turns out not to be one that reflects their values (including those of their culture) and desires? This happens often, and explains the title of the new book by University of Texas psychologist, David B. Cohen. The basic message of the book is given by the sub-title "Do Parents Really Shape their Child's Personality, Intelligence, or Character", with the answer a resounding No. Instead the book emphasizes the role of genetic and pre-natal events in shaping intelligence and personality.

The book puts the emphasis on the good news for parents whose children have turned out other than as they would wish. It points out how many diseases and character faults were once blamed on poor parenting, but are now regarded as due to biological causes that parents can not be blamed for. The evidence for these conclusions comes from family studies, especially those of twins and adopted children.

Cohen also points to the common observation that siblings, even same sex siblings, are radically different, both in personality and intelligence (sibling IQ differences average 12 points, which is 70% of the 18 point difference among children randomly selected from the same population). This is hard to explain by traditional social rearing theories, since parents usually raise their children in the same way. Yet it is easily explained by a genetic theory (perhaps supplemented by there

being a random component in development, such as Miller 1997 has proposed).

Some of best-documented genetic effects are for intelligence. Behavior genetics makes it possible to partition the environmental influence into that due to being reared in the same family (referred to as shared variance) and that due to other causes. One of the most striking findings is that the familial influences are so weak. Identical twins raised apart correlate about .75, while those reared together correlate .85. This suggests the effect of being reared together given identical genes is only .1, really quite small. As small as this is, studies of the IQ resemblance of unrelated children adopted into the same household show that they have essentially zero IQ resemblance. This suggests that the effect of being reared in the same family is essentially zero. Most of the environmental effects documented (and behavior genetic methods do prove that there are environmental effects) appear to be due to things that siblings within the same family do not share. (Rowe 1994 presents much evidence for this).

Supporting evidence for the role of genes is provided by many findings. Brain size correlates with IQ; ability tests done at 6 months (before most environmental influences have had a chance to exercise their effects) correlate with childhood IQ; adult IQ correlates with the biological relatives of adoptees, but not with that of the adoptive parents, and IQ correlates with reaction times. For more on these correlations see Miller's (1999) review and summary of Jensen's (1998) recent book in this journal, or the review and summary (Miller 1996) of Brand's book (Brand, 1996) also called *The g Factor*. Interestingly, the publisher of Cohen's book is the same Wiley that withdrew Brand's book from the book stores, apparently because it discussed scientific facts about racial differences in intelligence they did not want discussed.

Cohen points to the experience of homosexuals as evidence of the power of biology, since most homosexuals adopt their sexual orientation and behavior in spite of strong social pressures not to be homosexual. This is one case where a naturally born child may feel like a stranger in the nest. He describes the evidence that there is a genetic influence on homosexuality, which comes from both twin studies and from research dealing with a specific location on the X chromosome.

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Twin studies suggest a heritability of between 25% and 75%. Specific markers on a region of the X chromosome known as X28 were shared in 33 out of 40 homosexual pairs of brothers, far above the expected 50% sharing if there was no genetic effect.

While this is basically a book for the layman (and especially for parents), the professional will learn things he had not been aware of. Recently, University of Texas psychologists Jeremy Beer and Joe Horn used an adoption study to look for evidence of the social effects of birth order. They compared first-born adoptive children reared either as a social senior with a younger sibling, or as a social junior with an older sibling. None of the IQ and personality effects for birth order that had been reported in other studies showed up. This points to a prenatal effect rather than a rearing effect. Blanchard and Klassen (1997) have proposed a biological theory that could explain the birth order effect on homosexuality. Miller (forthcoming) has extended this theory to explain other birth order effects, as well as to reconcile evidence for the heritability of homosexuality with the evolutionary argument that genes for homosexuality should be strongly selected against.

Awareness of the positive evidence for genetic and prenatal effects makes obvious the faults in the many studies presented as showing the importance of environmental effects in general, and parenting in particular. The first major section of the book is devoted to critiquing the various studies that have claimed to demonstrate the importance of environmental effects, and the importance of parenting.

The most common example of overstating environmental effects is to simply ignore the possibility (or probability) that the observations are due to genetic effects. For instance a young child may readily exhibit anger, just as his parents do. Instead of saying that the child inherited a quick temper, it may be asserted that he never learned from his parents to control his temper.

Mistakes of this type are frequently made with regard to intelligence, and traits associated with intelligence such as academic and economic achievement. Intelligence is known to be strongly correlated with academic and economic achievement (see Herrnstein & Murray 1994 or Miller's 1995 review and summary of their book in this journal). As shown above there is substantial heritability for intelligence. Yet, when intelligent parents are observed to have intelligent children, the

obvious explanation (to those familiar with the behavior genetic evidence) is rejected, namely that the children inherited the parents' intelligence. His problem solving skills are instead attributed to how his parents reared him. The same is often done for academic achievement, which in children is often attributed to the parents good rearing and the good environment provided, rather than to smart parents having smart children who do well in school.

By such arguments Cohen builds up to his conclusions that while environmental influences and parenting are important, their impact is limited.

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